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Tine Breban

ENGLISH ADJECTIVES OF COMPARISON

LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICALIZED USES

TOPICS IN
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English Adjectives of Comparison

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by

Tine Breban

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Introduction

This study is concerned with English adjectives of general comparison, i.e. adjectives such as *same*, *other*, *different*, *identical*, *similar*, *comparable*, etc. which express “comparison in terms of likeness and unlikeness without respect to any particular property” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 76–77). This type of comparison is fundamentally different from that expressed by the comparative forms of ordinary adjectives, which compare entities with regard to a specific quality and hence express “particular comparison” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 77). General comparison encompasses three semantic subfields of likeness: full likeness or identity, partial likeness or similarity, and unlikeness or difference. The main claim of this study is that the synchronic functional versatility of these adjectives can only be adequately described as the result of diachronic processes of grammaticalization and subjectification affecting their prenominal uses in the noun phrase (henceforth NP). This claim will prove to be interesting not only from a *descriptive* perspective, but also presents an opportunity to investigate two important *theoretical* issues that have been rather neglected in the literature so far: (1) the modelling of the roles and uses of adjectives occurring prenominally in the NP, and (2) grammaticalization and subjectification processes taking place in the NP. The study is based on the analysis of extensive sets of actual Present-day and historical English language data.

Descriptive problem: English Adjectives of Comparison

The adjectives of comparison display a wide variety of functions in current English; compare by way of illustration the following text examples with *different* and *other* (1–5).

- (1) If Gray’s anecdotal accounts can be believed, his books, videos, seminars, audiotapes, calendars, interactive CD-Roms, counselling sessions, lectures, and five-day Mediterranean relationship cruises, all trumpeting the simple notion that men and women are **different**, have changed lives. (CB)¹

1. The examples marked ‘CB’ are extracted from the COBUILD corpus, which is a 56 million word selection of the Bank of English that can be accessed via the Collins WordbanksOnline service, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

- (2) Again, the weather report in Haifa is not my expertise at this exact moment, but Haifa's **a very different city** from Tel Aviv which is very flat and open and the dissipation of chemical agents will be much swifter. (CB)
- (3) He said the witness had been secretly recorded confessing to the murder to an undercover policeman, had a cache of knives in his bedroom and had been convicted of **a different stabbing** in a Gold Coast restaurant. (CB)
- (4) I won the award for best junior bird in the show. I was so happy: the first show I entered, and I won a trophy! Since then I have shown many other birds and taken prizes at **different shows**. (CB)
- (5) Cancer of the breast and cancer of the bowel are much more common in **Western nations** than in **other countries**. (CB)

In (1), *different* functions as predicate in a copular clause and expresses that men and women are in many respects unlike each other. In (2), *different* occurs preminally in the NP *a very different city*. Its meaning is again to signal unlikeness: Haifa is not at all like Tel Aviv because it is not as flat and open. *Different* in examples such as (2) functions as attribute (see Halliday 1994: 184): it ascribes (a degree of) likeness to two entities being compared. In (3) *different* is also found in prenominal position in the NP, but it has a very different function. It indicates that the suspect of the current crime was involved in a previous stabbing as well. As such, it helps to identify the specific instance of stabbing referred to. In other words, it functions as a secondary deictic or postdeterminer (Halliday 1994: 183). In (4) *different* indicates that the speaker has won prizes at several shows and thus functions as quantifier (Halliday 1994: 183–184). Finally, in (5) *other* conveys yet a different meaning; it indicates that the countries referred to belong to the category of non-Western countries. It identifies a subtype of the general type countries, that is, it functions as classifier (Halliday 1994: 184–185).

The only existing study of the functional diversity of *different*, *other* and the other adjectives of general comparison known to me is that of Halliday and Hasan (1976: 77–80). However, as we will see in Chapter 3, their analysis includes only two prenominal uses of adjectives of comparison, the attribute and the postdeterminer use illustrated above in examples (2) *a very different city* and (3) *a different stabbing*. Moreover, their central claim that the postdeterminer use always involves identity or non-identity with a separately coded entity (i.e. external construal), while the attribute

use is always construed as mutual likeness without a distinctly appearing second entity (i.e. NP-internal construal) does not hold when it is confronted with real language data.

The aim of this study is to systematically and exhaustively map out and discuss all the uses of the English adjectives of comparison. I will propose that the different uses of adjectives of comparison in current English can be accounted for as reflexes of different stages of grammaticalization processes affecting the adjectives in the prenominal zone of the NP. Put simply, this grammaticalization claim can be formulated as follows. Originally, the adjectives expressed descriptive likeness as predicative adjectives, e.g. (1) *men and women are different*, or as attributes in the NP, e.g. (2) *a very different city*. These latter uses served then as input for processes of grammaticalization and subjectification leading to the development of new uses that fulfil (secondary) determiner functions in the NP, i.e. the postdeterminer use which adds info regarding the identifiability status of the referent, as in (3) *a different stabbing*, and the quantifier use illustrated in (4) *different shows*. In a later development, the postdeterminer use which furthers the identification of instances was extended to the identification of subtypes; that is to say, to a classifier use as in (5) *other countries*. This central claim will be developed in Chapters 4 and 5.

In Chapter 4, I will develop the hypothesis that the current uses of adjectives of comparison are the result of grammaticalization. I will characterize the hypothesized grammaticalization process as involving a shift from descriptive to textual meanings in Traugott's (1982, 1989) terms. I will then substantiate the grammaticalization claim by showing that the grammatical postdeterminer, classifier, and quantifier uses display several formal and semantic reflexes associated with grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann 1985, 1995 [1982]; Hopper 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]; Bybee 2003). I will further argue that the driving force behind the process is the conventionalization of inferences (Heine et al. 1991; Traugott and König 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]).

In Chapter 5, I will argue that the hypothesized grammaticalization process involved subjectification as a semantic subprocess. The grammatical uses will be argued to result from several types of subjectification that have been distinguished in the literature. Firstly, the grammatical meanings are more subjective in the sense that they are mechanisms with which the speaker takes control of the discourse in order to facilitate the interpretation by the hearer. This is textual subjectivity as defined by Traugott (1995). Moreover, as I will argue, the complementary notion of intersubjectivity (e.g. Traugott and Dasher 2002) also applies, as these mechanisms

strongly attend to the communicative needs of the hearer. Secondly, the grammatical uses display subjectivity in Langacker's (1990, 1998) construal-related sense.

So far, I have set out the main descriptive claim of this study, which is developed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of Part I. The purpose of Part II is to put flesh on the hypothesis that the current uses of the adjectives of comparison are the reflexes of grammaticalization-cum-subjectification by investigating it in detail for six core adjectives of comparison on the basis of extensive and close study of synchronic corpus data. *Other*, *different*, *same*, *identical*, *similar*, and *comparable* were selected to represent the three subfields of comparison, difference, identity and similarity. For each adjective, I will analyze a data set of 400 examples randomly extracted from the COBUILD corpus. This will allow me to provide an in-depth description of all the different current uses of adjectives of comparison as constituting the synchronic layers (Hopper 1991) resulting from processes of grammaticalization. I will systematically investigate bridging contexts, i.e. examples of fully contextualized discourse that allow and support more than one reading (Evans and Wilkins 2000), conceptual links between layers, and relative frequencies of distinct uses in the corpus data. My aim is to draw up descriptive profiles for the three fields of comparison and trace the possible concrete paths of grammaticalization and subjectification covered by the adjectives in each field. Chapter 6 will focus on *other* and *different* which represent the field of difference, Chapter 7 on *same* and *identical* representing identity, and Chapter 8 will be dedicated to the adjectives of similarity *similar* and *comparable*.

Part III of this study comprises two additional case studies which adduce diachronic evidence for both the general grammaticalization-cum-subjectification claim proposed in Part I and the more specific claims regarding paths and models put forward in Part II. In Chapter 10, I will present a diachronic corpus study consisting of historical samples extracted from the Helsinki corpus (750–1710) and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (1710–1920) which is complementary to the synchronic corpus analysis of the six core adjectives of comparison, *other*, *different*, *same*, *identical*, *similar*, and *comparable*, in Part II. In Chapter 11, I will report on a corpus study zooming in on and refining the analysis of the field of difference. I will compare historical data ranging from 1250 to 1920 for six adjectives of difference, *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various*, which all have developed along a suggested grammaticalization path ultimately leading to the quantifier use exhibited by *several* in current English.

Theoretical issues

As I indicated at the beginning of this introduction, the descriptive claim that adjectives of comparison underwent grammaticalization also provides an opportunity to address theoretical gaps in the existing approaches to the semantic and grammatical structure of the English NP as well as in the grammaticalization literature. The two main issues will be identified in the first two chapters of this study.

Problem 1: The NP as locus for grammaticalization and subjectification

The first issue to be concerned with is the fact that the existing theoretical models of the NP have not been designed to deal with processes of change taking place in the NP. In Chapter 1 I will present a model for the English NP that can accommodate the proposed grammaticalization and subjectification of adjectives of comparison. This model argues against a class-based approach to the different elements constituting the NP in favour of a function-based one (e.g. Halliday 1994 [1985]; Bache 2000; and Langacker 1991). It combines this functional analysis of the different elements with an analysis that recognizes the different combinatorics between them.

The construction of this model reveals three specific theoretical deficiencies in the existing literature. Firstly, little attention has been devoted to adjectives in the NP. In the class-based approach, they are treated as one monolithic block of (pre)modifiers of the head noun. However, as was argued in several influential papers in the 1960's such as Bolinger (1967), Crystal (1967), and Teyssier (1968), and later in the works of Halliday and Hasan (1976), Halliday (1994 [1985]), and Bache (2000), the prenominal zone encompasses several different functions that are typically but not necessarily realized by adjectives. In the literature just mentioned three functions are associated with adjectives, postdeterminer, attribute, and classifier. I will further build on this three-way analysis and propose that it has to be combined with a dynamic perspective: adjectives can express more than one function at the same time and can change from prototypical expression of one function to prototypical expression of another. It is only in a dynamic functional model that processes of change such as grammaticalization and subjectification can be conceived of.

A second theoretical gap which characterizes most of the existing approaches to the NP is their deficient treatment of the combinatorial relations between the different (functional) elements in the NP. The interac-

tion is typically uniformly analyzed as a head-modifier relation. Referring to the types of syntagmatic structure distinguished by McGregor (1997), I will propose that three different relations are found in the NP, scoping relations, recursive head-modifier, and non-recursive head-modifier relations. I will pick up on these different syntagmatic relations in Chapter 4 of this book, where I will show that they are crucial to an understanding of the formal differences between lexical and grammatical uses of adjectives of comparison.

Thirdly, adjectives occur in one other area of the NP, postnominal position. However, because postmodifying adjectives are less frequent than premodifying ones, it has not been analyzed in the same detail in the literature. One assumption argued by, for example, Quirk et al. (1985: 418) is that adjectives in this position are predicative adjectives that are part of reduced restrictive relative clauses. As such, they always express quality-attribution. Bache (2000: 161), by contrast, claims that this position has multi-functional status, but does not offer any further theoretical or systematic descriptive underpinning. In Chapter 9, I will test how both the reduced restrictive relative clause claim and Bache's multifunctional claim hold for adjectives of comparison. On the basis of analysis of postnominal adjectives of comparison in synchronic corpus data, I will investigate if, and to what extent, they fulfil different functions besides quality-attribution.

Problem 2: The development from attributive adjective to determining element

The second type of theoretical contribution this study intends to make is specifically to do with grammaticalization/subjectification issues. In Chapter 2, I will give an overview of the existing literature on grammaticalization and subjectivity/subjectification in the NP. Here it will become apparent that the NP and the development of adjectives in the NP in particular is to a large extent uncharted territory in grammaticalization studies. The treatment of adjectives in the NP is limited to one specific grammaticalization and subjectification path, the development of strengthening elements such as *very* and *lovely* in *lovely long legs* (e.g. Adamson 2000; Paradis 2000a). The role of the two processes in the development of determining elements has been a topic of interest, but the discussion has so far only focused on traditional determiners such as definite and indefinite articles *the* and *a* (amongst others Roberts and Roussou 2003;

Hawkins 2004 for *the* and Hopper and Martin 1987; Heine 1997 for *a*). The development of the adjectives of comparison hypothesized in this study constitutes a previously unrecognized type of grammaticalization and subjectification from lexical attribute to determining element.

Besides the fact that the present study is concerned with a neglected area of research, it also touches on various problems in grammaticalization theory in general, for instance the question about the necessity and types of formal change as part of integral grammaticalization processes. These specific problems will be dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5, in which I argue my case that the current polysemy of the adjectives of comparison is the result of ongoing grammaticalization and subjectification.

**Part I. Theoretical argumentation for the
grammaticalization and subjectification
hypothesis of English adjectives of
comparison in the English NP**

1. Constructing a dynamic functional combinatory model of the English NP

It has been generally accepted in grammaticalization studies that lexical items do not grammaticalize in isolation but as part of the context or construction they are part of (see amongst others Lehmann 2002, 2005; Traugott 2003b; Himmelmann 2004). As such, an analysis of adjectives of comparison that invokes semantic change and grammaticalization has to be embedded in a well-rounded analysis of the syntagm they occur in, the English NP. The purpose of this chapter is to set up an analytical model for the NP that is up to the task of modelling the semantic and structural changes involved in grammaticalization and subjectification. As a first step in this direction, we have to identify the basic components of the NP and investigate how they are integrated into one structure. In Section 1.1, I will discuss several analyses that have been proposed in the literature. I will start my discussion with Huddleston and Pullum (2002) (Section 1.1.1). They distinguish elements on the basis of their word classes. However, neither for the description of the different elements of the NP nor for the modelling of the structural relations between them (i.e. the combinatorics) does this approach provide the necessary analytical tools. I will argue that function-based characterizations are necessary to capture the elements constituting the NP. I will discuss the analyses of Halliday (1994 [1985]) (Section 1.1.2), Bache (2000) (Section 1.1.3), Langacker (1991) (Section 1.1.4). For the combinatorics between the elements I will invoke McGregor (1997) (Section 1.1.5). In Sections 1.2 and 1.3 I move on to the construction of the model itself drawing on elements from the different function-based approaches discussed in Section 1.1. Different from the existing analyses, I will bring in the dynamic perspective of semantic and structural change in the model. I will first focus on the different elements making up the NP (Section 1.2) and then make some suggestions about the interpretation of potential changes in their combinatorics (Section 1.3).

1.1. The elements of the English NP and the combinatorics between them

1.1.1. Huddleston and Pullum (2002): *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 326)'s basic definition of NP structure states that “except in what we refer to as the fused-head construction

(*Two of them* were broken; *Many* would disagree; *It* benefits *the rich*), NPs consist of a noun as head, alone or accompanied by one or more dependents”.¹ They specify that these dependents include amongst others determinatives or determiner phrases², pre-head adjective phrases and relative clauses and can be further categorized on the basis of their position with respect to the head into pre-head and post-head dependents. The NP is thus modelled in terms of recursive modification, as represented in tree diagrams such as Figure 1.1.

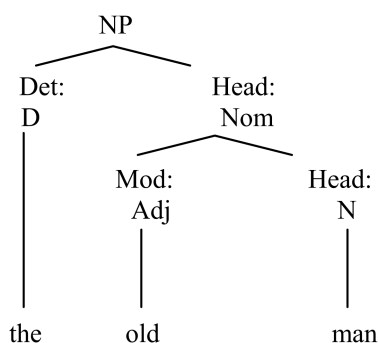


Figure 1.1. Tree diagram representing the NP *the old man* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 329)

As we can see in Figure 1.1, the elements composing the NP are identified in terms of grammatical categories: determiner (i.e. determinative for Huddleston and Pullum 2002), adjective and noun.

With regard to the relations between the different elements, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 330–331) argue that we need to distinguish between two types of dependents which interact as modifiers to different heads (see Figure 1.1). Internal dependents are engaged in head-modifier rela-

1. In addition to the array of analyses that take the noun to be the head of the NP, there is also a more recent tradition that takes the determiner to be head, see the discussion in Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 357–358). The elements that Huddleston and Pullum refer to as dependents are often called ‘modifiers’ in the literature. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 331f) reserve the term ‘modifiers’ for one specific type of dependents which is distinguished from a second type, complements.
2. In Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002: 355) terminology, ‘determinative’ (abbreviated as D) is a category of words (or certain larger expressions), that can function as ‘determiner’ (abbreviated as Det).

tions in one specific portion of the NP called ‘nominal’ (Nom in Figure 1.1), i.e. the NP minus the determiner. External dependents, by contrast, function as modifiers to this nominal acting as head. The category of external dependents includes the determiner (as in Figure 1.1) as well as predeterminers such as *both* in *both those copies* and peripheral modifiers such as *alone* in *the car alone* and *by far* in *by far the most difficult path* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 331). In sum, whereas external dependents are constituents of NPs, internal dependents are constituents of lower-order nominals such as *old man* in the NP *the old man*. Although the two types of dependents engage in the same sort of head-modifier structure, this subcategorization alludes to the special status of the determiner among the dependent elements in the NP.

Two other grammars of English, Quirk et al. (1985: 1235f) and Crystal (2003: 222–223), present largely similar accounts. Both grammars analyze the NP in terms of head-modifier structure with the noun as head surrounded by pre- and postmodifiers. In contrast to Huddleston and Pullum, they exclude the determinative (which they define, slightly differently, as consisting of central determiner, predeterminers and postdeterminers, i.e. elements such as numerals, *many*, *few* that “follow the central determiner but precede premodifiers, e.g. adjectives” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1239)) from the modification analysis. Neither of them, however, explains how the relation of the determinative to the other elements of the NP can be conceived of alternatively.

1.1.2. Halliday’s (1994 [1985]): *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*

Halliday (1994: 180f) holds that in order to account for the NP as a syntagm, the head-modifier structure constitutes only part of the picture.³ Instead, he argues that two types of structure have to be distinguished: the head-modifier structure, which he refers to as the ‘univariate’ logical structure, and a constituency-based, ‘multivariate’ experiential structure, which represents the different functions of the elements in the NP as a whole. These two structures offer complementary views on the NP that are simultaneously present.

The addition of a multivariate experiential analysis has the advantage of providing a rich semantic analysis of the functions of the NP. This anal-

3. A less-developed but essentially identical version of Halliday’s (1985) systemic-functional model of the NP was already present in earlier work such as Halliday and Hasan (1976).

ysis using functional labels allows us to refine the analysis in terms of word classes. Concretely, Halliday (1994 [1985]) claims that the general function of the NP is to specify “a class of things” and “some category of membership within this class” (Halliday 1994: 180). The element that is in analyses such as that of Huddleston and Pullum (2002) referred to as the head noun designates the class of things and is therefore given the functional label ‘Thing’ (Halliday 1994: 180). The other elements in the NP express different aspects of the categorization within the class. As represented in Figure 1.2, five functional elements are distinguished: Deictic, Numerative, Epithet, Classifier, and Qualifier.

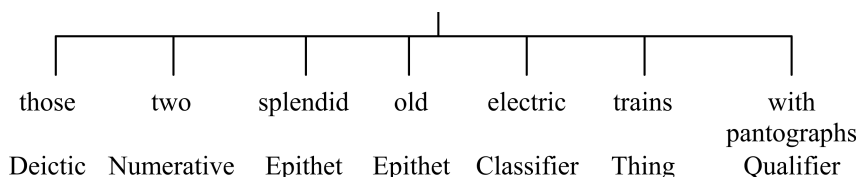


Figure 1.2. Experiential structure of the NP (based on Halliday 1994: 180 and 191)

The function of the first element, the Deictic, is to indicate “whether or not some specific subset of the Thing is intended” (Halliday 1994: 181). The Deictic can either identify the subset in terms of two deictic features, proximity, e.g. demonstratives, or possession, e.g. possessive determiners and genitives, or simply mark it as identifiable without clarifying the grounds for identification, e.g. the definite article. The Deictic may be accompanied by the post-Deictic, which identifies the subset by “referring to its fame or familiarity, its status in the text, or its similarity/dissimilarity to some other designated subset” (Halliday 1994: 183). Examples of post-Deictics are *same* in *the same two trains*, *well-known* in *the well-known Mr John Smith* and *usual* in *his usual silly self* (Halliday 1994: 183).

The second element, the Numerative, expresses a “numerical feature” (Halliday 1994: 183) of the subset such as quantity or order. The Epithet (Halliday 1994: 184) indicates a quality of the subset, which can either be an objective property such as *old* (see Figure 1.2), or the expression of the speaker’s subjective attitude towards the subset, e.g. *splendid* (see also Quirk et al. 1972: 925–926; Hetzron 1978: 178). The final prenominal element, the Classifier (Halliday 1994: 184–185), serves to indicate a subclass of the Thing, e.g. a subclass of trains, that is *electric trains*. The element that is found in postposition is the Qualifier (Halliday 1994: 187–188), which also characterizes the Thing.

As this overview shows, Halliday's experiential analysis of the NP departs from the idea that the different elements in the surface structure of the NP stand in a one-to-one relation to the different word classes. Instead, as indicated in Figure 1.3, adjectives can realize three different functions, post-Deictic, Epithet and Classifier, whereas nouns can function as Thing or as Classifier (Halliday 1994: 185).

Deictic	post-Deictic	Numerative	Epithet	Classifier	Thing
determiner	adjective	numeral	adjective	noun or adjective	noun

Figure 1.3. Typical realizations of the functions in the English NP (Halliday 1994: 185)

Whilst this is an advantage, this multivariate experiential analysis also poses some problems. Firstly, in Halliday's view, the experiential structure not only captures the different functions that elements can realize in the NP, but also constitutes the ordering principle for the NP (Halliday 1994: 187). Each function is associated with the specific position that it occupies in Figure 1.2. According to Halliday (1994: 187), this amounts to an ordering in terms of the identifying potential of the different elements, with the element with the greatest specifying potential occurring at the left end of the NP. As I will argue in Section 1.2, this claim is too rigid and does not leave room for the dynamic aspect of the NP as locus of semantic change.

Another more fundamental problem with Halliday's approach pertains to the second complementary logical structure which is proposed to capture the combinatorics in the NP. This logical structural analysis is 'univariate', that is to say, all elements engage in the same one structural relation, "hypotactic dependency" or head-modifier structure (Halliday 1994: 191f). Halliday (1994: 195) argues that this dual analysis is necessary to account for those NPs in which the Head in the logical head-modifier structure does not coincide with the Thing in the experiential structure. He illustrates this claim with size noun constructions such as *a pack of cards*, *a slice of bread*, *a yard of cloth* (Halliday 1994: 195).⁴ According to Halliday, logically, the size noun is the Head in these examples, but from the

4. The term 'size noun' is adopted from Brems et al. (2007), Halliday (1994: 195) uses the term 'measure nominals'.

perspective of experiential structure, it is part of a complex numerative. Figure 1.4 visualizes this two-tiered analysis.

<i>a</i>	<i>pack</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>cards</i>
Numerative			Thing
			Experiential structure
Premodifier	Head	Postmodifier	Logical structure

Figure 1.4. Dual analysis of the size noun construction (based on Halliday 1994: 195)

However, as Brems (2003, 2004a, 2007a) points out, this dual analysis wrongly suggests that the size noun is at the same time head and numerative in all its uses. Instead, Brems proposes, when size nouns are used in their original lexical sense, as in *a lot of land*, they function as head. In grammaticalized uses, such as *a lot of rubbish*, they have lost their head status and are reanalyzed as element of a complex numerative. Figure 1.5 visualizes the process of reanalysis.

<i>a</i>	<i>lot</i>	<i>of land</i>		<i>a lot of</i>	<i>rubbish</i>
determiner	head	postmodifier	→	quantifier	head

Figure 1.5. Reanalysis of the size noun construction (Brems 2003: 289)

Brems’ criticism reveals two problems with Halliday’s (1994) two-tiered analysis of the size noun construction. Firstly, it does not do justices to the fact that *a lot of land* and *a lot of rubbish* instantiate two different structures. Secondly, because of this, it cannot capture the reanalysis process binding those structures either. This observation brings in the issue of how to model structural (and semantic) change in the NP, which I will further develop in Sections 1.2 and 1.3.

In sum, Halliday’s (1994) analysis provides us with a richer model for the different elements of the NP linked to the function of the NP as a whole. Despite of this, the relations between the elements are reduced to one relationship, a recursive head-modifier relation.

1.1.3. Bache (2000): *Essentials of Mastering English*

Bache’s (2000: 157f) analysis of the English NP is, like Halliday’s (1994 [1985]), founded on a functional analysis of its different elements. How-

ever, Bache arranges these functional elements in one hierarchical structure, as presented in Figure 1.6.

expression of meaning as things					
determination	modification			categorization	(multi-functional)
	specification	description	classification		

Figure 1.6. Bache's (2000) functional analysis of the NP: functions and subfunctions (based on Bache 2000: 162 and 239)

Bache (2000: 159f) proposes an analysis of the NP in terms of zones and subzones. Each (sub)zone is associated with one particular function, which is a subfunction of the function characterizing the higher zone. As visualized in Figure 1.6, the ultimate function of the NP as a whole is to refer to things, or, in Bache's words, to "enable speakers to code what they want to talk about as things" (Bache 2000: 159). On the next layer of the hierarchical model, Bache locates three main communicative subfunctions of this general function: determination, modification and categorization.

Bache considers the value of these three subfunctions to be clear from their labels and does not provide a detailed semantic description. Determination (Bache 2000: 170f), he states, "signal[s] the kind of reference involved in the expression of a nominal [i.e. a NP *T.B.*]" (Bache 2000: 170). Categorization (Bache 2000: 162f) is the subfunction fulfilled by the head noun of the NP: it "provide[s] a close lexical match for the referent of the construction" or "represent[s] the referent as a member of a category of the things, persons, etc." (Bache 2000: 160–161). The modification function receives no further specification at all and is only described in terms of its subfunctions specification, description and classification (Bache 2000: Chapter 16).

The post-head zone is analyzed as 'multi-functional' by Bache (2000: 161). He observes that this zone can contain elements pertaining to determination, e.g. *of my father* in "the sudden death of my father", modification, e.g. *with the shy smile* in "the little girl with the shy smile", categorization, e.g. *academical or secretarial* in "no additional staffing, academical or secretarial", as well as complementation, e.g. *to her parents* in "this very dull visit to her parents" (Bache 2000: 161).

The hierarchical functional structure of the NP is realized by corresponding syntactic zones, as represented in Figure 1.6. Bache (2000: 238–239) explains the ordering within the modification zone as follows. Specification is functionally closest to determination, whereas classification naturally relates to categorization. This is reflected in their respective locations next to the two outer zones. Bache concludes that as a consequence “there is no strict separation between determination, modification and categorization but rather a continuum of values from determination to categorization: from the left determination fades into modification via specification and from the right categorization fades into modification via classification. In the middle we have modification at its purest: description” (Bache 2000: 239). However, he does not specify how such a continuum of values has to be conceived of concretely. I will turn to this question in Section 1.2.

Bache’s structural underpinning of his functional analysis in terms of zones is more flexible than Halliday’s (1994 [1985]) constituency analysis and provides a better insight into the functional relations between the different elements. However, his analysis re-introduces word classes as a distinctive parameter. Categorization is strictly associated with the head noun, determination with articles, pronouns and genitive constructions, and modification with adjectives (Bache 2000: 160). As we will see in Section 1.2, restricting adjectives to the modification function is particularly problematic.

The combinatorics between the elements are modelled in terms of head-modifier relations. The NP consists of pre-head dependents, belonging to the determination and the modification zones, a head, i.e. the head noun or the categorization zone, and post-head dependents, the multi-functional zone. Like Halliday (1994), Bache’s (2000) description hence fails to provide a structural-combinatoric model of the NP that interacts insightfully with its functional organization.

1.1.4. Langacker (1991): *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*

Langacker’s (1991) Cognitive Grammar analysis of the elements of the NP abandons syntagmatic surface structure altogether in favour of a strictly function-based analysis. In his approach, constructions are viewed as functional configurations, comprising “essentially component *functions* and not necessarily component *structures*” (Heyvaert 2003: 19). According to Langacker (1991), this kind of functional approach is the only

possible one for the English NP because there is no single structural template for all NPs. They can take the forms of, amongst others, pronouns and proper names next to canonically coded NPs such as the ones taken as starting point in the previously discussed models of the NP. As Langacker puts it, “owing to the structural diversity of nominals, a universally valid schematic characterization must be couched in terms of meaning and schematic function rather than formal properties such as constituency” (Langacker 1991: 54).

Langacker (1991: 53f) proposes that the NP (which he calls the nominal) always consists of a configuration of four semantic functions, type specification, instantiation, quantification and grounding. The type specification provides the basis for identifying entities as representatives of a certain type, without itself being tied to any particular instance of the type. The difference between simple nouns and NPs is the fact that NPs presuppose instantiation of the type and always designate one or more particular instances of the type. The other two functions, quantification and grounding both supply information necessary for instantiation. Quantification provides some indication of the size of the specific instances denoted by the NP and grounding specifies how the instances relate to the “ground”, i.e. “the speech event and its participants” (Langacker 1991: 53). On the basis of these four functions, Langacker formulates the following general semantic definition of NPs: “every nominal profiles a thing construed as an instance of some type and further incorporates some specification of quantity and grounding” (Langacker 1991: 54).

Langacker further argues that these semantic functions are iconically reflected in the structure of “canonically” coded NPs, such as “*those three black cats*” (Langacker 1991: 52). In such NPs, type specification, quantification and grounding are each separately coded: type specification by the head noun, adjectives, and other modifiers that render the type specification more precise; quantification and grounding by quantifiers and determiners. However, as remarked at the beginning of this section, not all NPs have this kind of structure. In non-canonically coded NPs such as pronouns and proper names, the three functions do not receive distinct structural coding. In the case of proper names such as *Stan Smith*, for example, all three functions are conflated into one and the same element, the proper name itself (Langacker 1991: 58–60). Firstly, the name *Stan Smith* incorporates a type specification that can be described as ‘male human’. Secondly, it presupposes instantiation in terms of quantification and grounding as it refers to a single individual that is treated as identifiable.

As a consequence, proper names qualify as NPs because they incorporate the same semantic functions as prototypical NPs such as *those three black cats*.

How does Langacker model the combinatorics between the elements in canonically coded NPs? In his view (Langacker 1991: 143f), these NPs have a layered compositional structure which reflects the consecutive application of the different semantic functions.⁵ The relations between the layers are analyzed as recursive head-modifier relations. More specifically, the head noun, which represents the “basic instantiated type” (Langacker 1991: 147), acts as ultimate head. The addition of a first modifier results in the formation of a “higher instantiated type” (Langacker 1991: 147), which in turn functions as head for the next modifier to be added. The addition of a quantifier turns the instantiated type into a “quantified instance” (Langacker 1991: 147), which serves as head for the final modifier, the grounding element.

On one point, however, Langacker’s analysis departs from the head-modifier model. After explaining NP structure in terms of the compositional path described above, Langacker remarks that “a special situation arises at the highest level of constituency” (Langacker 1991: 147). Grounding elements differ from the other elements in that they do not profile a **relation** with respect to the designated entity, but the **entity** itself. This is shown by the fact that they can stand alone as a full nominal, e.g. *this* in “*I like this*” vs. *happy* in “**I like happy*”, and the fact that they cannot be used as clausal head, “**The boy is this*” vs. *The boy is happy* (Langacker 1991: 92). As a result, grounding elements such as *those* in *those three black cats* have a **nominal profile** in contrast to the adjective *black*, which has a **relational profile**. Langacker concludes that grounding elements are hence similar to the NP as a whole, which also has a nominal

5. Langacker (1991: 143) uses the term ‘(grammatical) constituency’ for this type of layered compositional structure. His definition of constituency is different from the way in which the term is used by Halliday (1994 [1985]) and McGregor (1997). As defined by Langacker (1987, 1991), constituency encodes “the order in which component structures are successively combined to form progressively more elaborate composite structures” (Langacker 1987: 310). The actual relations between the component and composite structures are not specified by the term constituency. Halliday (1994 [1985]) and McGregor (1997), by contrast, reserve the term for one particular type of syntagmatic relation, the part-whole relation obtaining between a linguistic entity and the whole to which it belongs (McGregor 1997: 21). I will be using the term in the latter sense.

profile, and to the quantified instance in the compositional model, which has a nominal profile as well. The only difference between the nominal profiles of grounding elements and those of nominals and quantified instances pertains to their level of specificity: whereas a full nominal denotes a specific entity, grounding elements have schematic nominal profiles only. For example, *this* means ‘an entity that can be identified on the basis of a relation of proximity either in the speech situation or in the discourse’. When a grounding element and a quantified instance are combined into a full NP, their mutual nominal status results in an ambiguous situation in which it is unclear whether the quantified instance serves as head with the grounding element acting as modifier or whether the grounding element is the head, which is elaborated by the quantified instance as a complement (Langacker 1991: 147–148). However, from the point of view of the underlying combinatorial mechanisms, both possibilities involve a dependency relation. We can summarize that in general Langacker (1991) analyzes NP-combinatorics in terms of the head-modifier relation, but is aware of the more intricate relation obtaining between grounding elements and the rest of the NP.

1.1.5. McGregor (1997): *Semiotic Grammar*

McGregor’s (1997) analysis of the NP is indebted to Halliday’s (1994 [1985]) multivariate analysis, whose functional elements, Deictic, Numerative, Epithet, Classifier and Thing, it takes over. However, McGregor supplements this functional description with an analysis of the combinatorial relations between these elements. The basic idea behind McGregor’s (1997) ‘Semiotic Grammar’ is that language as a semiotic system comprises four different types of grammatical signs, experiential, logical, interpersonal, and textural, which are realized by four different syntagmatic relations, constituency, dependency, conjugational, and linking relations.⁶ According to McGregor (1997: 21), **constituency** relations, which can be defined as part-whole relationships between a linguistic entity and the whole to which it belongs, have unjustifiedly dominated twentieth-century

6. The four types of grammatical sign are based on Halliday’s (1994 [1985]) analysis of language into three metafunctions, the ideational metafunction (which covers the experiential and the logical metafunctions), the interpersonal metafunction, and the textual metafunction (Halliday 1994: 33–36). On the relation between McGregor’s categorization of signs and Halliday’s metafunctions, see McGregor (1997: 72–73).

linguistic theory. He emphasizes that syntagmatic or combinatory relations cannot be reduced to constituency only and that three other types, dependency, conjugational and linking relations, have to be added for an adequate description of grammatical phenomena.

Dependency relations (McGregor 1997: 59f) have been recognized as an alternative to constituency by other linguists such as Hudson (1971). They are part-part or “sister-sister” (Hudson 1971) relations, i.e. direct relations between units which are both part of a higher structure. They are crucially different from any indirect (constituency) relations that connect these units on the basis of a shared overarching structure. Following Halliday (1994 [1985]); McGregor (1997: 60) distinguishes two types of dependency relations: hypotaxis, in which the relation is asymmetrical, i.e. one unit, the modifier, is dependent on the other, the head, and parataxis, in which both units have equal status.

Conjugational relations (McGregor 1997: 64f) are specific to McGregor’s Semiotic Grammar. They are whole-whole relationships in which “one unit applies to another in its entirety, moulding it, as it were, into a particular shape” (McGregor 1997: 69). Put differently, one unit encompasses the other and “‘shapes’ the other, indicating how it is intended to be taken or viewed by the addressee” (McGregor 1997: 210). McGregor (1997: 66–67) recognizes two types of conjugational relations, scoping and framing. In the case of framing, the encompassing unit serves to delineate the encompassed unit from the surrounding linguistic context. A typical example of a framing relation is that between quoting and quoted clauses. Scoping relations, then, are defined as the encompassing unit “applying over” the encompassed unit “leaving its mark” on the entire unit (McGregor 1997: 210), as for instance *luckily* in *Luckily he did not come*. McGregor (1997: 66) semantically subclassifies conjugational relations in terms of three types of modification: illocutionary modification, attitudinal modification, and rhetorical modification. Illocutionary modification deals with the illocutionary force of an utterance, “with how the speaker intends it to be taken interactively” (McGregor 1997: 66). The example provided by McGregor is *frankly* in *Frankly, they couldn’t save themselves if they tried* (McGregor 1997: 66). In the case of attitudinal modification, the speaker indicates his or her subjective attitude towards the encompassed unit, e.g. *luckily* in *Luckily he did not come*. Rhetorical modification signals how the encompassed unit is integrated in “the framework of knowledge, beliefs, expectations, etc. of the interactants in the speech situation” (McGregor 1997: 66). *Already* in *It has already started to rain* (McGregor 1997: 66), for example, marks a counter-expectation.

The final type of syntagmatic relations, **linking relations** (McGregor 1997: 70f), are “free relations” (McGregor 1997: 58), i.e. they connect a linguistic item with another item which it may or may not be structurally related to, and which even may or may not be linguistic itself. In this sense they are free from the boundary constraints that restrict the other three types of syntagmatic relations. McGregor (1997: 71) goes on to distinguish five main types, which, he stresses, are not mutually exclusive. Indexical relations, firstly, involve one item pointing to something else, e.g. personal pronouns. Connective relations, secondly, bind two items together and specify the semantic and/or structural relation between them, e.g. conjunctions. The third subclass, markers, are “labels for construction or category types” (McGregor 1997: 71) and link linguistic items to the type they instantiate. Covariate relationships, fourthly, connect two items on the basis of their membership of “a system of meaning relations” (McGregor 1997: 71) which specifies some semantic link between them, e.g. the converses *buy* and *sell*. The fifth subcategory, collocational relationships, links items that have a high probability of co-occurrence, such as *syntagmatic* and *relationship*.

Approaching the NP with this semiotic framework, McGregor (1997: 119-121) shows that the different functional elements distinguished by Halliday (1994 [1985]) do not all interact in the same way. He asserts that NPs in their entirety are experiential structures as their main purpose is to signify entities. Within the NP, however, he recognizes only one experiential role, that of Entity (i.e. Thing in Halliday’s (1994 [1985]) experiential structure). In this respect, he rejects Halliday’s (1994 [1985]) view that all functional roles in the NP are part of the experiential structure. According to McGregor (1997: 120), other roles such as Epithet and Classifier are related to the head noun in terms of hypotactic dependency relations and hence serve logical functions.

McGregor (1997: 176–180) argues that NPs embody two types of hypotactic dependency: attribution and classification. In the attribution relation (McGregor 1997: 176), a quality or quantity is ascribed to the Entity. Quality attribution corresponds to Halliday’s (1994 [1985]) Epithet and quantity attribution to the Numerative. McGregor further argues that different linguistic elements realizing attribution, e.g. the adjectives *old* and *green* in *an old green car*, engage in independent dependency relationships with the Entity. He thus goes against the idea that these adjectives are involved in recursive relations, in which case *green* relates to *car* and *old* to *green car*. Classification in the English NP (McGregor 1997: 178)

obtains between the Entity and an element that provides subclassification of the Entity type.⁷

McGregor's (1997: 209–283) discussion of conjugational relations is limited to its exponents in clause structure. However, in the concluding remarks to his chapter on conjugation, McGregor (1997: 281–282) notes that the phenomenon of quantification can be thought of in terms of conjugational relations. He suggests that quantifiers function as scoping elements expressing an interpersonal relation of the rhetorical type, modifying the expectations of speaker and hearer. *Many* and *few*, for example, can be analyzed as contrasting “an asserted quantity with an expected quantity” (McGregor 1997: 282).

Within the final type of syntagmatic relation, linking relations, McGregor (1997: 311) makes a further distinction between textural signs of the ‘structural’ type, i.e. “signs which are encoded in and impose structure on clauses” (McGregor 1997: 311), e.g. theme and presentative clauses, and signs that are not structural in this sense. Linking relations of the latter type cover reference, ellipsis and substitution. Reference is discharged by determiners as well as certain quantifiers such as “the non-specific quantifiers *some*, *many*, *few*, and so on”, “quantifiers such as *both*, *every*, *all*” and ordinal numbers (McGregor 1997: 317). In his introduction to linking relations of the non-structural type, McGregor remarks that these relations are never completely characterizable in terms of linking alone: “Part of their inherent meaning is to link; however, they always involve other types of meaning in addition – logical, experiential, and/or interpersonal – which characterize the nature of the link” (McGregor 1997: 311).

With respect to one group of reference items, quantifiers such as *some*, McGregor (1997: 317) says that they also invoke interpersonal meanings. For the other determiners and quantifiers, he does not indicate what other types of meaning they express. In Section 1.3 I will propose that all determiners and quantifiers in fact express interpersonal meaning. That is, they indicate how the Entity is to be interpreted against the background of the speech situation (particularly speaker, hearer and their shared knowledge). Hence, they also enter into conjugational scoping relations.

7. McGregor (1997: 179–180) notes that in other languages including many South-East Asian languages and some Australian Aboriginal and Amerindian languages, another type of classification relation is found, which serves to “typologize” (McGregor 1997: 180) the Entity and which establishes ‘super-classification’.

1.1.6. Conclusion

In this section, I have discussed a number of different approaches to the English NP. First I looked at Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) model, which combines an analysis of the elements that is very much class-based with a combinatorics model consisting of only one relation, a recursive head-modifier analysis. The models of Halliday (1994), Langacker (1991) and to a lesser extent Bache (2000) have as a common ground that they analyze the value of the different elements in terms of their function within the NP as whole. A shortcoming of these models is that they do not follow this functional analysis through to the level of combinatory relations between the elements. McGregor (1997), finally, has proposed such a coupling of the functional differentiation of elements and the combinatorics in his semiotic grammar, but remains vague on its application to NP structure. In the next sections, I will attempt to develop a more explicit semiotic description of the NP. I will take Bache's (2000) hierarchical analysis as starting point and supplement it with Langacker's (1991) fundamental distinction between type specification and instantiation, Halliday's (1994 [1985]) concrete characterization of the functions of the different elements and McGregor's (1997) general analysis of the combinatory relations between these elements. This model will also address another shortcoming in the existing approaches, that I only briefly touched upon, their lack of dynamicity. This makes them unsuitable for the modeling of diachronic change. In the next sections I will step-by-step construct this new dynamic functional combinatory model.

1.2. A dynamic functional model of the NP

1.2.1. The starting point: Bache's (2000) model of zones and subzones

As we saw in Section 1.1.3, Bache's (2000) model of the NP (see Figure 1.6 reproduced below) is a hierarchical model consisting of three main zones, determination, modification and categorization, and three further subzones within the modification zone.

expression of meaning as things					
determination	modification			categorization	(multi-functional)
	specification	description	classification		

Figure 1.6. Bache's (2000) functional analysis of the NP: functions and subfunctions (based on Bache 2000: 162 and 239)

In the next sections, I will zoom in on each of the three zones, focusing specifically on the modification zone which is the most relevant to the English adjectives of comparison.

1.2.2. The categorization zone

The categorization zone, which is found at the right end of the NP, provides a description of the ‘general type’ that is instantiated by the NP. The central element of the categorization zone is the head of the NP. It is typically a common noun that specifies the class of things of which the entity denoted by the NP is a representative. In Bache’s (2000: 162) model, the categorization zone is restricted to the head noun. Langacker (1991: 53), by contrast, proposes a larger “type specification”: all descriptive pre- and postmodifying elements add further to the type description and are hence also part of the type specification. However, in my view, not all descriptive modifiers are part of the categorization. As I will discuss in Section 1.2.4, only those elements that are analyzed as classifiers by Halliday (1994: 184–185) further refine the type description. The other modifiers relate to the specific instance denoted by the NP rather than to the type. Example (1.1) illustrates this difference.

- (1.1) Domestic violence is a **serious social problem** and a crime. The British Crime Survey 1992 estimated there are 530,000 assaults on women by men in the home each year. As child-care organisations, we are particularly concerned about the impact of domestic violence on children. (CB)

The adjective *social* functions as classifier: it restricts the type ‘problems’ to a specific subtype, ‘social problems’. The adjective *serious*, on the other hand, expresses that the specific instance of the type ‘social problem’ designated by the NP is severe.

1.2.3. The determination zone

The determination zone is associated with the left end of the NP and is concerned with the identification of the instance designated by the NP. Determiners signal the identifiability status of the referent of the NP (amongst others Kempson 1975; Chafe 1976; Du Bois 1980; Wilson 1992; Gundel et al. 1993, 2001). In Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3.1) I will discuss the conceptual mechanisms of identification within the Cognitive Grammar framework (Langacker 1991, 2004a). In this section I will restrict myself

to establishing which elements belong to the determination zone and what their general functions are.

Bache (2000: 160) claims that the only elements that can function as determiners are ‘identifiers’ in the strict sense, i.e. definite and indefinite articles, demonstratives, possessives, etc. These identifiers are either definite, i.e. the definite article, demonstratives, possessive determiners and genitives, or indefinite, i.e. the indefinite article and the zero article. By means of a definite identifier the speaker signals that the hearer should be able to retrieve the identity of the designated entity (amongst others Kempson 1975; Chafe 1976; Du Bois 1980; Langacker 1991, 2004a; Wilson 1992; Gundel et al. 1993, 2001). Some definite identifiers further specify how or where it can be retrieved. Demonstratives, for instance, further convey whether the entity is located close to the speaker or not, while possessives identify referents by anchoring them to a ‘possessor’ in the broad sense. With an indefinite identifier, the speaker signals that the hearer either is not able or need not be able to identify the particular entity denoted by the NP. In the former case, the speaker introduces a new entity into the discourse which only receives a preliminary characterization in terms of class-membership (Bache 2000: 179): it is identified as a (new) instance of the type described by the categorization zone of the NP. This identification mechanism has been referred to as “type-identifiability” (Gundel et al. 1993: 275) and explained as “conjuring up” (Langacker 1991: 106) an instance as an instance of a given type. In the latter case, the hearer is not expected to identify a particular entity because that kind of identification is not at issue. For example, because the speaker wants to refer to a random or non-specific instance of a category (Langacker 1991: 103f), or because the precise identity of the (specific) instance is not important to the hearer or cannot be disclosed.

However, in the literature it has been argued that quantifiers may perform identification functions as well (e.g. Close 1975: 145; and especially Langacker 1991: 107f; Davidse 2004). Bache (2000: 161–162) includes quantification as a separate overarching function in his model of the NP, rather than as part of the lower-level zone-structure. He does not associate quantification with a specific zone in the NP, because he views the count-uncount as well as the singular-plural distinctions as expressing quantity as well and they are marked on the head noun. However, according to Langacker (1991: 74f), these distinctions convey aspects of the internal structure of the entity. He distinguishes three types of common nouns: singular count nouns, e.g. *pebble*, plural mass nouns, e.g. *pebbles*, and

non-plural mass nouns such as *gravel* (Langacker 1991: 78–81). Each of these, he claims, designates a different type of entity. Singular count nouns designate a discrete entity, plural mass nouns a replicate mass, and non-plural mass nouns a non-replicate mass. The system of number is thus concerned with the construal of the internal structure of entities, while each NP denotes a single entity or instance. The role of quantifiers such as cardinal numbers, *few* and *most* is to indicate the size of the instance. Number and quantification are hence two separate phenomena.

As argued by Langacker (1991) and especially Davidse (2004), the function of quantifiers is not restricted to specifying the size of the instance, but they also have secondary identificational values. In order to elucidate the precise interaction between identifying and quantifying meanings, we have to distinguish between two types of quantifiers, relative versus absolute quantifiers. Relative quantifiers specify the size of the instantiation by measuring it off against a reference mass consisting of all the instances of the type that are available in the discourse (Langacker 1991: 107f). They have been fairly generally recognized as indefinite identifiers (amongst others Close 1975; Langacker 1991, 2004a). By specifying the size of the instantial set as a portion of the reference mass, the instances denoted by the NP are recognized as belonging to this reference mass and hence as new instances of the general type.⁸ Absolute quantifiers, by contrast, offer “a direct description of magnitude” (Langacker 1991: 83) of the instantiation. As argued by Davidse (2004), they imply the same type-identifiability relation as indefinite determiners: these quantifiers “instruct the hearer to conceptualize instances as corresponding to the categorization provided by the type specification of the NP” (Davidse 2004: 217) in order to quantify them. In contrast to ‘real’ indefinite determiners, however, absolute quantifiers merely presuppose this correspondence relation between type specification and instantiation, in order to be able to measure the instantiation (Davidse 2004: 211). Following Langacker (1991) and Davidse (2004), quantifiers will be allocated to the determination zone in this study. The terms ‘determiner’ and ‘determina-

8. Picking up on Lyons’s (1999: 2) remark that definite judgments are “probably ... hesitant” with regard to quantifiers such as *every*, Davidse (2004: 218–219) proposes that ‘universal’ relative quantifiers such as *every* and *all* imply a pragmatic form of identifiability, that is, “since they quantify over **all** the instances in the discourse context, they also indicate to the hearer which precise set of instances is involved [emphasis mine]” (Davidse 2004: 219).

tion' then refer to the integrated set, which includes quantifiers and identifiers in the narrow sense.

1.2.4. The modification zone

In between the categorization and the determination zones, there is a whole area which Bache (2000) characterizes rather vaguely as the modification zone. In what follows I will argue that in contrast with the other two zones, the essence of the modification zone has not been characterized very well in the literature so far. The reason for this is the unrecognized semantic heterogeneity of the different elements that are grouped together in this zone.

To remedy this, I will suggest that some elements typically included in the modification zone actually belong to the determination or categorization zones. In this way we can gain a better understanding of the actual function of modification and also model the more continuous transition areas between the different functional zones, suggested by Bache (2000; see section 1.1.3).

In Section 1.2.4.1, I will first survey the discussion in the literature that led to the ternary distinction of the modification zone found in Bache (2000). In Section 1.2.4.2, I will then propose my own understanding of the modification zone and its relation to the determination and categorization zones, which incorporates dynamic transition areas.

1.2.4.1. *The modification zone in the literature*

In many of the standard articles on modification in the NP, the heterogeneity of the modification zone is addressed by introducing a binary distinction between elements modifying the **referent** of the NP and elements modifying the **type-description** expressed by the head noun. This distinction (or a roughly equivalent one) has been referred to as "referent versus reference-modification" (Bolinger 1967), "non-inherent versus inherent modification" (Quirk et al. 1972: 1325), "specification versus characterization" (Seiler 1978), "ascription versus association" (Ferris 1993: Chapter 2),⁹ and "absolute versus synthetic interpretation of adjectives" (Taylor 1992).

9. The ascription versus association distinction does not overlap completely with Bolinger's (1967) concepts of referent versus reference-modification. Ferris (1993: Chapter 6) himself discusses the differences between reference-modification and association.

Bolinger (1967) illustrates the distinction between referent versus reference-modification with the examples “Henry is *a rural policeman*” (Bolinger 1967: 15) versus “Henry is *a drowsy policeman*” (Bolinger 1967: 21). In the first NP, the adjective *rural* describes a type of policeman, whereas *drowsy* in the second NP characterizes Henry, the specific instance of policeman that the NP refers to. In other words, *rural* in the first NP modifies the noun *policeman*, whereas *drowsy* in the second NP modifies the referent-entity, Henry. Bolinger (1967: 18) also points out that the two types of modifiers have different formal characteristics. Typically, only referent modifiers “take comparison” (Bolinger 1967: 18), or can, more generally, be graded either by submodifiers or by the comparative or superlative form of the adjective itself, and allow alternation with a pragmatically equivalent predicative use. Compare for example,

- (1.2) a. a *very rural policeman versus a very drowsy policeman
 b. a *more rural policeman versus a drowsier policeman
 c. a policeman *who is rural versus a policeman who is drowsy

In the literature, Crystal (1967; see also Coates 1971; Quirk et al. 1972) introduced the terms ‘central’ versus ‘peripheral’ adjectives to refer to adjectives that display these two alternation patterns versus those that do not.

Even though the distinction between referent and reference-modification is definitely pertinent, it actually relocates the problem of heterogeneity to the reference-oriented subset. As thoroughly discussed in Ferris (1993: Chapter 6), Bolinger’s reference-modification category is used as a cover for a great variety of modifiers that appear to be grouped together only on the basis that they are not referent-modifiers. The two main ‘non-referent’ modifiers that have received most attention in the literature are the classifier, illustrated by *a rural policeman*, and the postdeterminer exemplified in (1.3).

- (1.3) He is the very man I was looking for. (Bolinger 1967: 19)

Neither of these directly modifies the entity, but they are very different in nature: whereas the former applies to the categorization of the entity, the latter is concerned with its identification.

Linguists such as Teyssier (1968), Halliday (1994 [1985]), Warren (1984), and more recently Bache (2000), hence distinguish three subtypes within

the modification zone, which can very generally be characterized as the identifying, quality-attributing, and classifying functions,¹⁰ and which lead to the zonal model proposed by Bache (2000) (see Figure 1.6).¹¹

1.2.4.2. The need for a dynamic approach to the modification zone

Although Bache's (2000) model seems to cover all the different functions in the modification zone, further problems need to be addressed. In this discussion, I will refer mainly to data containing adjectives of comparison, as my specific aim in developing a model of the English NP is to account for all the uses of these adjectives.

In the first place, Bache's (2000) model still proved unable to deal with several of the corpus examples with adjectives of comparison. As already remarked by Bolinger (1967: 23), assigning concrete adjective uses to specific functions is not always easy when one is working with actual language material (see also McGregor 1997: 179 on attributes and classifiers). Many adjectives commonly realize different functions in different examples, as illustrated for *different* in (1.4–1.5).

- (1.4) At Musgrave Rd, Robertson, many of the suburb's most expensive homes have sold and some of the most expensive have been built.
 "They are all brick and tile which makes them **a very different product** to what you will find at the older more established suburbs," Mr Kawamata said. (CB)

10. Teyssier (1968) refers to the three types as identifying, characterizing and classifying adjectives. The specific terms used in Halliday (1985: 180f) are post-Deictic, epithet and classifier and Bache (2000: 235–237) talks about specification, description and categorization. Warren's (1984: 102f) 'identifying' type differs from the corresponding function in the work of the other authors: its semantics are only vaguely defined and formally, it is said to occur in between quality-attributing and classifying modifiers.

11. This three-way distinction identifies the major adjectival functions in the pre-nominal zone of the NP. In the functional literature, several other functions of an intensifying nature have been proposed (e.g. Hetzron 1978; Dixon 1982; Sinclair et al. 1990; Vandelandotte 2002; Vandewinkel 2005; Breban et al. 2007), including amongst others emphasizing adjectives *pure bliss*, value adjectives *lovely tall pine trees*, degree adjectives *dry pure brown crumb*. Here, the category status of the 'adjective', which shows overlap with adverbials modifying adjectives, e.g. *lovely long*, *pure brown*, is an issue for consideration.

- (1.5) If you have problems once you arrive at the cottage, the agency may be able to move you to **a different house** or solve the difficulty; if you were dealing with a private landlord, you would have to go one-on-one with him or her and be more or less stuck in the rental until the dispute was resolved. (CB)

In (1.4), the adjective *different* characterizes the houses of Musgrave Road as different or unlike those of the older suburbs. In (1.5), by contrast, the same adjective specifies the identifiability status of the house denoted by the NP, by indicating that it is another instance of ‘house’ and not the cottage that was rented.

Moreover, the area of modification is not only subject to this type of ambiguity, it also displays a certain amount of vagueness (see Geeraerts 1993, 1997: 18; Tuggy 1993 for a cognitive account of the difference between ambiguity and vagueness) in the sense that it is often not even the intention of the speaker to express one particular function, but rather to keep more than one interpretation hanging for an adjective in a specific context, e.g. (1.6).

- (1.6) Nineteen months ago he had stood at the top of the stairs outside the entrance to Highbury’s marble halls and rigorously defended himself against scurrilous innuendoes about his private life. He was heard to say to vice-chairman David Dein: “All this is terrible. Are these people sick?” On Saturday, the Arsenal boss climbed **a different set of stairs** – the 39 steps up to the Royal Box – to collect the FA Cup and so complete an extraordinary Double. It was his own Stairway to Heaven. (CB)

In (1.6) *different* in *a different set of stairs* can, firstly, be interpreted as postdeterminer indicating that these stairs are not the ones mentioned earlier in the discourse. But in the context of the story, which opposes a very happy moment to earlier bad times, the adjective *different* also comes to attribute a positive quality to the stairs to the royal box, which is very unlike the negative experience associated with the stairs outside Highbury. In examples such as this, the speaker/writer exploits the functional ambivalence of the adjective.

There is yet another factor contributing to the difficulty of assigning functions of adjectives. It often happens that the speaker’s own creativity leads them to use an adjective in a function that it is not normally associated with. The adjective *small* in (1.7), for example, no longer performs an attributing function, i.e. it no longer attributes the quality ‘small’.

Instead, it subclassifies some of the varieties mentioned on the basis of this shared quality.

- (1.7) Although fuchsias on the whole look very similar to each other, each variety needs to be treated differently. Some varieties such as ‘Marily Olsen Nellie Nuttall’ and ‘Minirose’ need small, pot plant treatment while others such as ‘Greenpeace Space Shuttle’ and many of the species are best grown in large pots or in the greenhouse border. **The small varieties** mentioned make excellent show plants where the pot size is restricted to 31/2 in. diameter. (CB)

In the literature, such ‘ad hoc’ classifying uses of typically attributive adjectives have been commented on by Bolinger (1967: 5), Tucker (1998: 222 on ‘promoted subclassification’), and Adamson (2000: 58). Analogous ‘ad hoc identifying’ uses can be observed with the adjectives of comparison which, in examples such as (1.8), can shift from describing similarity to signalling that a new instance of the same type is referred to.

- (1.8) In the morning training run he had been second fastest until two unheralded Slovenians, starting at numbers 59 and 78, finished ahead of him. No chance sadly, of **a similar shock** in the afternoon. (CB)

In order to accommodate this creative freedom of the speaker, Bache’s (2000) model needs to be opened up. The modification zone has to become a more ‘dynamic’ zone in which quality-attribution is recognized as the central function which can act as source for the formation of ad hoc identifiers and classifiers.¹² This dynamicity is not restricted to the synchronic modelling of the modification zone; we also have to recognize the

12. As noted by amongst others Quirk et al. (1985: 469–470), a classifier can also be used as an ad hoc attribute, but this change of function seems to be restricted to examples in which the adjective is explicitly ‘marked’ as attribute by a marker of gradability such as a submodifier, as in (i), or a comparative or superlative form.

(i) I couldn’t believe how straight-looking he was, how preppy. He had **a very British thatch of straw-yellow hair**, combed floppily to one side. (CB)

In the same vein, Bache (1978: 36) observes that predicative use of a classifying adjective is in some cases possible “especially if a degree of ‘descriptiveness’ is added or stressed in the adjective, or if the adjective is made contrastive” (Bache 1978: 36), e.g. (ii).

(ii) the effect was **physical** rather than **mental** (quoted in Bache 1978: 36)

diachronic side of these dynamic processes.¹³ As we will see, it is often the case that historically ad hoc identifiers and classifiers become entrenched and become full realizers of the identifying or classifying functions, sometimes to the point of losing their ability to fulfil the attribution function.

1.2.5. Extending the dynamic functional model to the NP as a whole

The dynamic analysis of the modification zone, and especially its diachronic implications, calls into question the status of the identification and classification subfunctions in the model of the NP as a whole. As the historical development of the adjectives of comparison will show, the evolution from using an adjective as attribute to using it as identifier and/or classifier does not end at the latter stage. Some adjectives such as *other* in the determiner *another* and *identical* in the compound head noun *identical twins* no longer have any affinity with the concept of modification, but have further developed into items that fully realize determining and categorizing functions.¹⁴ This observation calls for the extension of the concept of dynamicity to the entire NP.

Instead of having three zones based on the word classes found in the NP, determiners, adjectives and nouns, I propose to redistribute the zones on a functional basis. More specifically, I will incorporate the identification and classification subfunctions in the higher level determination and categorization functions, thus limiting the modification function to its core use, quality-attribution.¹⁵ In this way, the three functional zones are each associated with one of the three main functions, identification of the entity, attribution of qualities to the entity, and categorization of the entity, irrespective of the class of elements carrying out these functions.

13. In this respect the notion of dynamicity as it is used here seems very compatible with Denison's (2001, 2006, 2010) concept of 'gradience', which refers to the gradual nature of the transition between different categories in the NP such as determiners and adjectives.

14. In other constructions *identical* of course has a fully descriptive use and as we will see in Chapter 6, Present-day English still has a few remnant uses of *other* with the descriptive meaning of "degree of unlikeness".

15. Teyssier (1968) seems to hint at a similar redistribution of NP structure in stating that identifying adjectives "expand" the determinative (Teyssier 1968: 227) and classifying adjectives in the same way constitute an expansion of the noun (Teyssier 1968: 228).

The dynamic character of the model emphasizes the fact that although some classes are prototypically associated with one of the three functions, the relation between functions and classes is one of gradual transition, allowing elements to be used in, and even to become prototypical exponents of, other functions (see also Section 4.3.3 on decategorialization in the grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison). Figure 1.7 schematically represents this dynamic functional model of the English NP.

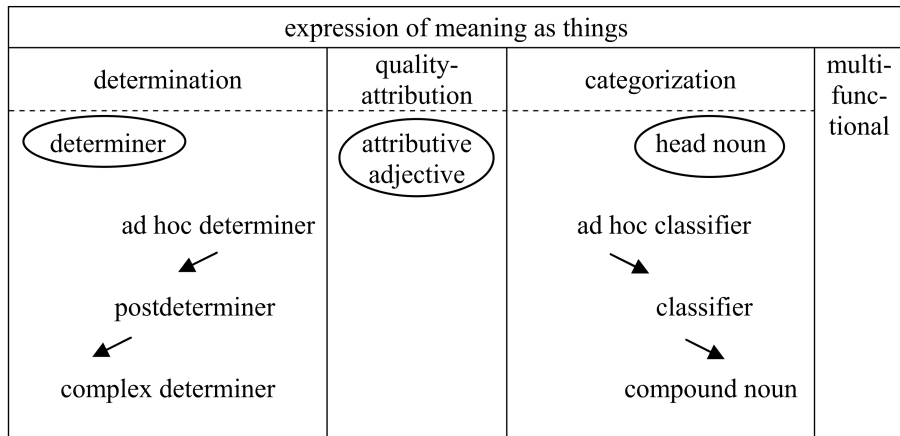


Figure 1.7. Dynamic functional model of the English NP

This model consists of three fundamental zones, determination, quality-attribution and categorization. The classes prototypically associated with the different functions are circled: determiners for determination, attributive adjectives for quality-attribution, and nouns for categorization. Note in this context that the attribution function can only be fulfilled by adjectives. By contrast, the functions of postdeterminer and classifier can be expressed by other classes such as adverbs and nouns, as illustrated in (1.9) and (1.10) respectively.

- (1.9) On this basis, we wrote to **the then Home Office Minister** (29 May 1992), asking for the Law Commission's recommendation to be implemented. (CB)
- (1.10) My major hurdle was being accepted as a businesswoman. I organise **a client lunch** and many men found it difficult that there were eight men and only one woman at the lunch. (CB)

In order to distinguish determiners in the strict sense from determiners as a cover term for determiners in the strict sense and postdeterminers, I will refer to the former as ‘primary determiners’.

The model also captures the diachronic dynamics possible in the NP in the form of two paths of movement starting from the central attribution zone towards the two outer zones, determination and categorization. It illustrates that adjectives can shift from prototypical use as attributes into postdeterminers on the one hand and classifiers on the other through ad-hoc determining and classifying uses, and in time become entrenched as postdeterminers and classifiers in the language.

1.3. Combinatory relations in the dynamic functional model of the NP

In Section 1.2, I have focused on the functional-semantic side of the model, i.e. its elements, and argued that three main functions have to be distinguished, determination, quality-attribution, and classification. In this section I will defend the claim that the elements associated with each of these functions, (post)determiners, attributes and, classifiers, are involved in different combinatory or syntagmatic relations with the head of the NP, the noun, as defined by McGregor (1997).

As we saw in Section 1.1.5, McGregor (1997) distinguishes four different syntagmatic relations: constituency or part-whole relations, dependency or part-part relations, conjugational or whole-whole relations, and linking relations, which construe four different kinds of meanings. McGregor (1997) makes only few specific claims about syntagmatic relations in the NP. He does state that classifiers and attributes engage in distinct hypotactic dependency relations (McGregor 1997: 176–180) and also alludes to a possible interpretation of quantifiers as engaging in conjugational, scoping relations (McGregor 1997: 281–282). In this section I will apply McGregor’s (1997) distinctions more systematically to the elements of the NP.

1.3.1. Classifiers and recursive hypotactic dependency relations

Classifiers such as *wild* in (1.11), refine the categorization by deriving a subtype of the general type denoted by the head noun. In other words, they restrict the denotation of the head noun.

- (1.11) He has quite an interest in **wild flowers**, having created a wildflower meadow at his Highgrove home. (CB)

Structurally, they enter into a typical head-modifier relation with the head noun, which can be subsumed under the general syntagmatic relation of dependency.

More specifically, classifiers are involved in a 'recursive' modification relation. In examples with more than one classifier, each classifier moving from right to left, restricts the denotation of the type description to a more specific subtype. In (1.12), for example, the first classifier *financial* restricts the general type 'markets' to 'financial markets', which is in turn restricted by *Japanese* to the more specific type 'Japanese financial markets'.

- (1.12) **Japanese financial markets** will be closed Monday to mark the autumnal equinox holiday which falls on Sunday. (CB)

Classifiers are thus construed by the syntagmatic relation that is in most of the literature said to characterize all the pronominal elements in the NP, a recursive head-modifier relation to the head noun.

1.3.2. Attributes and independent hypotactic dependency relations

Attributes describe the entity denoted by the NP by attributing a quality to it. As argued by McGregor (1997), attributes are also involved in hypotactic dependency relations. But, unlike with classifiers, the head of that hypotactic relation is not the denotation of the head noun, but the referent of the NP.¹⁶ In (1.13) *strong* describes the specific earthquake that day in Taiwan.

- (1.13) **A strong earthquake** shook a wide area of northeastern Taiwan today, causing landslides. (CB)

The dependency relation of attributes also differs from that of classifiers in that it is not recursive (Dixon 1982: 25; McGregor 1997: 177): attributes independently modify the referent of the NP. Compare for example (1.14) with the classifier example (1.12) *Japanese financial markets* above.

16. Predicative adjectives express a similar semantic attribution relation to the subject of the copular clause that they are part of. The difference between the two types of construal is that with attributes, this relation figures in the compact form of an unmarked dependency relation in the NP whereas with predicates, it takes the form of a relational clause with a copular verb functioning as linking element, which explicitly marks the attribution relation between entity and quality.

- (1.14) Their meat dish: Big meaty ribs glazed with **a sticky red “jerk-style” sauce**. (CB)

The attribute *sticky* independently modifies the entity denoted by the NP: it expresses that the “jerk-style” sauce is sticky, in the same way as the attribute *red* conveys that the “jerks-style” sauce is red. In other words, the “jerk-style” sauce on the ribs is described as sticky and red.

1.3.3. Determiners and scoping relations

Even though McGregor (1997) does not explicitly discuss the syntagmatic status of determiners, there are some indications that they have a scoping relation to the referent of the NP. In the following paragraphs I will further develop this claim, using the demonstrative determiner *this* in example (1.15) as illustration.

- (1.15) The family and the school staff both recognized that **this boy** had abilities we didn’t know how to tap. We also knew he wouldn’t perform for us unless we knew what he could do and offered him the right cue. (CB)

As discussed in Section 1.1.4, Langacker (1991: 92) notes that determiners have a different status from the other prenominal elements in the NP: whereas these other elements have a relational profile, determiners have a nominal profile. In this respect, determiners have the same status as NPs. However, whereas the latter profile a concrete entity, the former have a schematic profile only. Abstracting away from this difference, the two elements have an identical, nominal profile and are hence ‘wholes’. As such, the two elements display all the characteristics of what McGregor (1997: 59) refers to as conjugationally related items: they are involved in a whole-whole relation in which one unit encompasses the other and specifies how it is to be taken by the addressee. In example (1.15), for instance, the determiner *this* and the NP *this boy* both designate the same entity. The NP *this boy* denotes a specific instance of the type ‘boy’. The determiner *this* profiles a schematic entity, the value of which can be paraphrased as ‘an entity that can be identified on the basis of a relation of proximity either in the speech situation or in the discourse’. In this way, *this* holds the specific entity denoted by the NP in its scope and indicates how it can be identified by the addressee. *This* thus construes a scoping relation, which can be further classified as expressing ‘rhetorical modification’, that is, the determiner specifies how the referent of the NP

“fits into the framework of knowledge and expectations relevant to the interaction” (McGregor 1997: 210).

1.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have set up a theoretical-descriptive model of the English NP, which will provide a framework for the synchronic analysis of the functions realized by English adjectives of comparison, as well as for the investigation into the diachronic development of these functions. This model of the NP is a functional one: its elements are defined on the basis of their functions in the NP as a whole. For their characterization, I am especially indebted to the existing functional descriptions of Bache (2000), Halliday (1994 [1985]) and Langacker (1991). Secondly, I proposed that in order to accommodate vagueness, ambiguity, and semantic shift, the model also had to be a dynamic. I set up a model consisting of three functional zones, determination, characterization and categorization, which have fuzzy boundaries allowing for transitions from one function to another. Finally, I argued that the different elements of the NP are not only defined by their functional-semantic properties, but also by the different relations that they construe with the other elements of the NP, i.e. their different combinatorics. Referring to McGregor’s (1997) definition of syntagmatic relations, I proposed that the three prenominal elements, determiners, attributes and classifiers, engage in three different syntagmatic relations: scoping relations, independent hypotactic dependency relations, and recursive hypotactic dependency relations respectively. In Part II of this study, I will use this dynamic functional combinatory model for the analysis of synchronic corpus samples of adjectives of comparison.

2. Grammaticalization and subjectification in the English NP

2.1. Introduction

When it comes to grammaticalization, i.e. “that part of the study of language change that is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions in certain linguistic contexts come to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 1), the NP is a rather neglected subject of investigation. The main body of work in grammaticalization studies defined in this way has dealt with the verb phrase, especially with the shift from lexical verb to modal auxiliary (amongst others Traugott 1989; Langacker 1990, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2003; Bybee et al. 1994; Denison 1993; Heine 1993; Warner 1993; Krug 2000; Traugott and Dasher 2002: Chapter 3), and with certain prepositional phrases which lose their internal structure and are reanalyzed as a single conjunctive item and/or discourse marker (Schwenter and Traugott 1995; Traugott 1995: 39–42, 1999, 2003b; Hoffmann 2004, 2006; Fanego 2010).

Moreover, as I will discuss in this chapter, the work that has been done on the English NP from a grammaticalization perspective has focused on some specific topics. Up until recently, the only elements that were looked at from a diachronic perspective were the main primary determiners, the definite and indefinite article. More recently, attention has gone to two other grammaticalization processes in the English NP: the development of ‘strengthening’ adjectives and adverbials¹ and various developments

1. In the literature, these elements usually are subsumed under the heading ‘intensifiers’. Quirk et al. (1972), for instance, use this term as a general label for all types of elements that hold another element of the NP (e.g. the head noun, another modifier, etc.) in their scope and modify its strength either negatively or positively. However, as discussed by Vandewinkel (2005), the different elements grouped together in this way are not all accurately characterized by the notion of intensification. Therefore, Vandewinkel (2005) proposes to restrict the term ‘intensifier’ to the element submodifying an attribute in the NP. For the category in its entirety, he suggests the label “strengthening elements” (Vandewinkel 2005: 1).

involving ‘N(oun) of N(oun)-constructions’, e.g. type noun constructions (*a kind/type/sort of N* and size noun constructions such as *a lot of N*, *a bit/shred of N*, *loads/piles of N*).

The purpose of this chapter is not only to give an overview of the studies found in the literature, but to integrate them in a more general analysis of grammaticalization in the English NP. I will propose that the grammaticalization processes taking place in the English NP all instantiate two more general paths of semantic change, one developing strengthening elements and the other giving rise to new determining elements. I will further argue that these two paths can be characterized in terms of two different interpretations of another diachronic process of change, subjectification. In very general terms, subjectification refers to the diachronic development of meanings that are (more) ‘subjective’ than the item’s original meaning. As indicated by Traugott and Dasher (2002: 19–20) and Traugott (2003a: 125), the notion of subjectivity as a synchronic phenomenon has been around since early structuralist linguistics, e.g. Bréal (1897), Bühler (1934). But current interpretations of the notion have been influenced most by Benveniste (1966). He argued that language is invariantly marked by subjectivity, i.e. by the presence of the speaker as speaking subject (“le locuteur comme sujet” (Benveniste 1966: 259)), and by the complementary concept of intersubjectivity, i.e. language as communication between two interacting participants. Even though he illustrates his view of subjectivity with concrete examples such as deictic elements, performative verbs, etc., the concept as such remains very broad and open to many different interpretations. The notion of intersubjectivity is even more elusive as it is only defined in the general terms used above. As a consequence, the concept of subjectivity has over the years been given different interpretations. The two main ones in the current literature are those of Traugott (1989, 1995, 2003a) and Langacker (1990, 1998, 1999).² It is these two interpretations of subjectivity and subjectification that I will argue capture the two main paths of grammaticalization in the NP (Sections 2.2 and 2.3).

I will also discuss a second general hypothesis, which is concerned with the structural aspect of grammaticalization and subjectification in the English NP: the hypothesis of leftward movement (Adamson 2000). Adamson (2000) proposed that subjectification in the English NP is always accompanied by a structural shift to a more left position. However,

2. Other interpretations of (inter)subjectivity can be found in Nuyts (2001) and Verhagen (2005).

as I will suggest in Section 2.2.3, the connection between leftward movement and subjectification leading to strengthening elements does not entirely hold true. In Section 2.3.3, I will propose that the hypothesis of leftward movement is however inherently compatible with subjectification into determining elements.

2.2. Subjectification in the Traugottian sense

2.2.1. Traugott's concept of subjectification

In her work on language change and grammaticalization, Traugott has gradually developed her concept of subjectification. In Traugott (1982), she proposed a first general cline of semantic change as a unidirectional path constituted by three types of meaning:

propositional > (textual >) expressive (Traugott 1982: 257)³

She illustrates this cline with several examples, including the development of articles and strengthening elements (Traugott 1982: 250–252). The former display a shift from propositional to textual meaning, and the latter from propositional to expressive meaning. The idea of subjectification is already implicitly present in the general hypothesis that semantic change will go from “less to more personal meanings” (Traugott 1982: 253), in which “more personal” is clarified as “more anchored in the context of the speech act, particularly the speaker's orientation to situation, text, and interpersonal relations” (Traugott 1982: 253).

Traugott (1989) refined the proposals of Traugott (1982). The cline was reformulated as three tendencies. The first one is concerned with semantic change within the propositional component of the original cline:

Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation (Traugott 1989: 34)

3. It can be noted that this three-way division of meaning originates from the three metafunctions distinguished by Halliday (1985: 36–37; Halliday and Hasan 1976: 26–27) in his multifunctional approach to language, the logical/experiential, textual, and interpersonal metafunction (Traugott 1982: 247–248).

The second tendency captures the development from propositional to textual meaning in the original cline:

Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation (Traugott 1989: 35)

The third tendency singles out the third component of the cline, expressive meaning. Traugott explicitly combines it with the idea of subjectivity: this tendency is generally characterized as the development of “more subjective” meaning (Traugott 1989: 35) and is formulated as

Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition (Traugott 1989: 35)

In Traugott’s later articles, the concept of subjectification gained in importance and was further elaborated. Traugott (1995) focused specifically on the role of subjectification in grammaticalization. The process of subjectification is defined here as “the tendency to recruit lexical material for purposes of creating text and indicating attitudes in discourse situations” (Traugott 1995: 47). In this definition, subjective meanings encompass two types, meanings that create text and those that express speaker-attitude. Both can be captured under the general characterization of subjective meanings as ‘speaker-involved’ or “speaker-based” (Traugott 1995: 32). The first type, meanings ‘creating text’, is concerned with the formulation of propositional content in context, both the extra-verbal context of the speech event and the verbal discourse context. These meanings are speaker-involved in that it is the speaker who decides how to link the propositional content with the context. The second type, meanings ‘indicating attitudes’, ties in with the ordinary, everyday use of the opposition subjective-objective, and covers meanings that add some expression of the ‘self’ of the speaker to the propositional content.⁴

In her more recent articles (Traugott 1999, 2003a, 2007a, 2010; Traugott and Dasher 2002), Traugott has been particularly concerned

4. The dual character of Traugott’s (1995) definition of subjectification is also emphasized by Finegan (1995). He points out that these two types are the natural consequence of two fundamental “needs” at the basis of subjectification: the “cognitive need” to increase informativeness, and the “social need” to express speaker-attitudes (Finegan 1995: 9).

with subjectification of the attitudinal type. The processes of semantic change that she focuses on are those in which meanings “become increasingly based in the SP(eaker)/W(riter)’s subjective belief state or attitude toward what is being said and how it is being said” (Traugott 2003a: 125).

In Traugott and Dasher (2002) and Traugott (2003a), (attitudinal) subjectification is supplemented by Benveniste’s (1966) complementary concept of intersubjectification. Traugott considers intersubjectification as a possible further development of subjectified meanings and defines it as the “process whereby meanings come over time to encode or externalise implicatures regarding SP[eaker *T.B.*]/W[riter]’s attention to the ‘self’ of AD[dressee]/R[eader] in both an epistemic and a social sense” (Traugott 2003a: 130). As this definition shows, intersubjectification applies the concept of subjectification to the other person in the speaker/hearer dyad, the hearer, adding the social or “interpersonal” (Halliday 1994 [1985]) aspect involved in language use. More specifically, intersubjectification in this sense covers meanings that address the ‘face needs’ of the hearer (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). Traugott (2010) specifies intersubjectification in this respect as the expression of the speaker’s awareness of the addressee’s attitudes and beliefs, most especially their “face” or “self-image”. The prime examples of intersubjectification discussed by Traugott and Dasher (2002) are the development of politeness markers and honorifics. In conclusion, the resulting model of semantic change proposed in Traugott’s recent work can be formulated in terms of a new unidirectional cline:

non-subjective > subjective > intersubjective⁵ (Traugott 2003a: 134)

2.2.2. The development of strengthening elements in the English NP

After having clarified Traugott’s views of subjectivity and subjectification, I propose that one path of grammaticalization processes in the English

5. Traugott (2007a, 2010) draws attention to the fact that an element can be said to have subjective and intersubjective meanings only when these are part of the **semantics** of the elements themselves, and not just **pragmatic** senses triggered in certain contexts. De Smet and Verstraete (2006) propose a similar distinction between ‘pragmatic subjectivity’, i.e. subjective meanings arising when the element is actually used, and ‘semantic subjectivity’, i.e. subjective meanings that are semanticized and are part of the meaning of the element as such.

NP, the development of strengthening elements, gives rise to types of attitudinally subjective and intersubjective meanings, conveying speaker-attitude and attention to the hearer's face needs.

Strengthening elements are a means for the speaker to evaluate the strength of the categorization used for the entity, or of a quality attributed to it, e.g. (2.1) and (2.2).

- (2.1) And he was **a complete little yob** that like read the Sun and . . . and had about the vocabulary of the Sun not beyond it. (CB)
- (2.2) He is **a very violent schizophrenic**. You have to wonder how the psychiatrists think he is safe to go back into the community. (CB)

The strengthening elements occurring in these two contexts are prototypically adjectives and adverbs (covering *ly*-forms as well as suffixless forms) respectively. Adamson (2000), Paradis (2000a), and Vandewinkel (2005) discuss the grammaticalization processes leading to such strengthening uses.⁶

Adamson (2000: 47–53), for example, describes the different stages involved in the subjectification process of the adjective *lovely*. *Lovely* originally functioned as attribute in the NP with objective descriptive meanings that can be glossed as 'amiable' and 'physically beautiful' (Adamson 2000: 47), e.g. (2.3) and (2.4).

- (2.3) with **much hearty and lovely recommendations** (OED, quoted in Adamson 2000: 47)
- (2.4) Leonora was formerly a celebrated Beauty, and is still **a very lovely Woman** (OED, quoted in Adamson 2000: 48)

In the seventeenth century, *lovely* developed a new attribute use with a subjective meaning (cf. Quirk et al. 1972: 925–926; Hetzron 1978: 178; Halliday 1994: 184), expressing speaker approval and conveying affection. This first subjective meaning is illustrated by (2.5).

6. It should be noted that there is a much larger body of work on the grammaticalization of strengthening elements, amongst others Traugott (1990, 2006), Partington (1993), Peters (1994), Rissanen (1999), Lorenz (2002), Nevalainen and Rissanen (2002), Méndez-Naya (2003), Adamson and González-Díaz (2005), and on the use of adjectives such as *well*, *dead*, *enough*, as intensifiers by teenagers, amongst others Paradis (2000b), Stenström (2000), Macaulay (2002), and Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), which look at these elements in general without reference to the specific context of the NP.

- (2.5) Dear Fred wrote, Directly, **such a lovely note** (OED, quoted in Adamson 2000: 48)

In a second stage, this subjective attribute meaning in turn developed via further subjectification into a strengthening use, equivalent to that of *very* and *pretty*, e.g. (2.6).

- (2.6) Day 5–6: Green Granite Inn – A comfortable hotel with spacious well-equipped rooms, pool & jacuzzi, pleasant restaurant. **Lovely rural location** in New Hampshire. (CB)

Other linguists have shown that strengthening elements may also result from the grammaticalization of complex constructions, e.g. the comparative form *rather* (Rissanen 1999, 2005), and the N *of* N-constructions (*a kind/sort/type of* N (Tabor 1993; Aijmer 2002; Denison 2002, 2005; Brems 2004b; Brems and Davidse 2010; Margerie 2005a, 2005b; De Smedt et al. 2007; Davidse, Brems and De Smedt 2008) and *a bit/shred/piece (of)* N (Traugott 2008a, 2008b, 2010). By way of illustration of the development of such complex constructions into strengthening elements, the following paragraphs summarize the main lines of Traugott's (2010: 46–49) discussion of the development of *a bit (of)* from “partitive construction” to “degree modifier” use.⁷

The construction *a bit of* originates from the nominalized expression *bit* referring to the act of ‘biting’, e.g. (2.7). This early meaning of *bit* underwent a metonymical change from designating the act of biting to referring to the ‘piece that was bitten out of something’, i.e. a bite in the Present-day English sense. It is this meaning that is found in the partitive construction *a bit of*, as illustrated in (2.8).

- (2.7) In the pyne of helle ... for **the bytt of an Appel**
‘Into the suffering of Hell ... for the biting of an apple’ (c. 1400
Ancr. Recl. 22/25 [MED *bite* 3.b.], quoted in Traugott 2010: 46)
- (2.8) He badd tatt gho shollde himm ec / **An bite brædess** brinnngenn
‘He commanded that she should him also a bite/bit of bread
bring’ (c. 1200 Orm 8640 [MED *bite* 3.b.], quoted in Traugott
2010: 46)

7. Traugott (2008a, 2008b) suggests that the specific processes of change involved in the grammaticalization can best be captured in terms of changing constructional configurations. This analysis fits in with a new strand in grammaticalization studies which aims at integrating grammaticalization and construction grammar approaches to languages (see also Denison 2002; Noël 2007; Fried 2008; Trousdale 2008).

- (2.9) If so be as ow you ‘ont blab, I’ll tell you **a bit of a secret**
 ‘If it be as how you won’t blab, . . .’ (1833 Clifford, *The Highwayman of 1770*, I.ii. [LION, English Prose Drama],
 quoted in Traugott 2010: 47)

In the early examples of the partitive construction the second N refers to a food item in line with the specific meaning of *bit*. However, from the seventeenth century onwards, the second N is no longer restricted in this way and can refer to non-food items as well, as in (2.9) *a bit of a secret*. Consequently, the meaning of *bit* generalized to ‘a small part of’. Traugott (2010) claims that it is this generalized meaning that gives rise to the semantic and structural reanalysis of the partitive construction into a degree modifier.

In examples such as (2.10), *a bit of* no longer indicates ‘a part of’, rather it is semantically equivalent to elements such as *quite*, *rather*, *somewhat of*. Structurally, the construction *a bit of N* is no longer analyzed as (*a bit (of N)*), but instead it has to be interpreted as ((*a bit of*) N) with the second N functioning as head and *a bit of* as premodifier to the head.

- (2.10) If you be a lord, it must be **a bit of a bastard business** (1810 W. Hickey, *Mem* [OED *bit* 2,4.h.], quoted in Traugott 2010: 47)
- (2.11) with a wither’d face, **a bit of a purple nose**, a cautionary stammer (1760 Foote, *The Minor I* [LION, English Prose Drama], quoted in Traugott 2005)
- (2.12) or if you should distrust yourself, you can practice it **a bit** before a glass (1847 Prest, *Varney the Vampire*, Vol 3 [UVA], quoted in Traugott 2005)

Traugott (2005) further notes that as a degree modifier *a bit of* is extended to other syntactic contexts such as pre-adjectival use and use without a head, e.g. (2.11) and (2.12) respectively. The development of the degree modifier meaning is a case of subjectification: the new meaning allows the speaker to express an evaluation with regard to the categorization (when the modified element is a noun) or quality-attribution (when the element is an adjective) of the entity denoted by the NP.⁸

8. Traugott (2010: 49) remarks that in examples such as (2.6) *a bit of a bastard business*, one could argue that *a bit* is used intersubjectively in the sense that it acts as a hedge mitigating the negative categorization conveyed by the head. However, this intersubjective sense remains pragmatic in nature as it is crucially dependent on the negative connotations of the head noun.

2.2.3. Adamson's (2000) hypothesis: subjectification and leftward movement in the English NP

2.2.3.1. Adamson's (2000) leftward movement hypothesis

Complementary to her semantic analysis of the subjectification of *lovely*, Adamson (2000: 50–53) proposes that the two consecutive subjectification developments, from objective to subjective attribute and from subjective attribute to strengthening use, are accompanied by relocation of the adjective to a leftward position. In a second stage, Adamson (2000: 55–59) generalizes this association of subjectification with leftward movement to the entire NP. In this context, she also touches on the subjectification from attribute to (secondary) determining uses (Adamson 2000: 59), and refers to a few articles on the development of possessives (Plank 1992), quantifiers (Carlson 1978; Lightfoot 1979: 168–186), and the determiner category in general (Spamer 1979). But as I will argue in Section 2.3.2, none of these studies provide a convincing account of the subjectification processes involved. In support of the general association between increased subjectivity and a leftward position in the English NP, Adamson draws a parallel with the development of sentence adverbs such as *hopefully* and *frankly* and discourse particles such as *indeed*. Their diachronic development also involves semantic subjectification accompanied by a structural shift to a position in the left periphery of the sentence.⁹ According to

9. Adamson (2000: 59–60) further claims that leftward movement has a formal opposite in the English NP: attributes can develop classifying meanings such as *criminal* in *criminal law*. This development from a quality-attribution to a categorization function involves a shift to the right in the NP. Semantically, the shift is one of lexicalization rather than grammaticalization and subjectification. Adamson (2000: 60) hence concludes that there are two paths of change in the NP: leftward movement involving grammaticalization and subjectification and rightward movement accompanying lexicalization. The specific example that Adamson (2000: 59–60) discusses is the adjective *criminal* which functions as subjective attribute in the NP *a criminal tyrant* and as classifier in *the criminal law*. According to Adamson, the development of classifier uses such as *criminal* in *criminal law* constitutes a case of desubjectification, as the adjective no longer expresses speaker evaluation, but restricts the denotation of the head noun *law*. In Adamson's view, this development goes against Traugott's (1989, 2003a) unidirectionality hypothesis for subjectification. However, I am not convinced that the origin of the classifier use is a subjective rather than an ordinary objective descriptive attribute use. In my view, the development of classifier uses such as *criminal* in *criminal law* involves neither a decrease nor an increase in subjectivity, but simply a change from

Traugott (2010), the association of subjectification and leftward movement is only one possible exponent of a more general tendency of subjectification and periphery movement¹⁰:

A growing number of studies have suggested that as they are subjectified linguistic elements are used in increasingly peripheral positions. Typically the shift is leftward in VO languages, and rightward in OV languages. In English many discourse markers are associated with left (and sometimes right) periphery, and their use in this position can be correlated with subjectification of their meaning (see e.g. Traugott and Dasher 2002 on *indeed*, *in fact*, *actually*, Brinton 2007 on *I mean*). (Traugott 2010: 60)

Traugott (2010) further notes that a similar association of more subjective meaning and peripheral position is found in the verb phrase as well:

In her study of tense, aspect and mood, Bybee (1985) showed that mood (defined as epistemic modality) typically occurs on the periphery of the verbal complex (Bybee 1985: 34–35, 196–200). (Traugott 2010: 59)

2.2.3.2. *Counterexamples to the leftward movement hypothesis as formulated by Adamson (2000)*

I will argue in this section that the leftward movement hypothesis for the English NP as formulated by Adamson's (2000) is not entirely in line with the possible positional arrangements of adjectives in the NP in Present-day English (see also Van linden and Davidse 2005; Ghesquière 2010). That is to say, there are adjectives which occupy a position more to the right when used in a more subjective way than their more objective original use. One type of strengthening use in the NP occurs more to the right than its objective counterpart; the strengthening element modifying a classifier, e.g. *largely* modifying *Western* in (2.13).

one objective descriptive meaning to another. In this sense, the development of this type of classifier uses does not constitute a counterexample to Traugott's (2003a) subjectification cline.

10. The association of periphery movement and subjectification is one of the main research questions in Traugott (2007a). This article is the introduction to a volume on subjectification and intersubjectification in Japanese, which, as noted by Traugott, "encodes subjectivity and intersubjectivity in more structurally prominent ways than is common in most European languages".

- (2.13) But, in general, mass audiences cannot seem to break away from **this old largely Western tradition** of the novel-length story with sharply-drawn characters and a distinctive narrative shape. (CB)

In the *Collins COBUILD English Grammar* (Sinclair et al. 1990: 95–96) it was pointed out that classifiers may be submodified by adverbs such as *strictly, loosely, broadly, largely, mainly*, whose function is to indicate how strictly or loosely the classifier applies. For instance, in *a largely Western tradition* the classifier ‘Western’ applies to the majority of instances of this tradition; in *a strictly Western tradition*, by contrast, all instances are subsumed under the classification ‘Western’. As example (2.13) illustrates, this strengthening element is found immediately in front of the classifier it modifies, as first element in the categorization zone.

Vandewinkel (2005) shows that this type of strengthening use can be expressed by adjectives as well, e.g. *pure* modifying classifier *financial* in (2.14) and modifying classifier *pop* in (2.15).

- (2.14) This process helped to stimulate the growth of finance capital, and the break between **pure financial transactions** and the circulation of goods and money caused the crash of 1987 on the London Stock Exchange. (CB)
- (2.15) Thus, in approximate chronological order, we proceed through a bunch of stone rarities: from **Glenda Collins’s marvellous pure pop single** ‘If You’ve Gotta Pick A Baby’ from 1963 (with Richie Blackmore on guitar) [...] (CB)

From a semantic point of view, these strengthening elements are more subjective than the objective attributes that precede them. In the case of adjectives such as *pure*, this entails that the more subjective class-restricting strengthening use occurs more to the right in the NP than the original objective attribute use (Vandewinkel 2005; Vandewinkel et al. 2006). As such, these class-restricting strengtheners bear evidence that the leftward movement hypothesis as formulated by Adamson (2000) is not the only ordering principle at work.

An alternative explanation that accounts for all examples is that the structural position of strengthening elements is determined by the position of the element they modify: they always occur in front of the strengthened element. For example in (2.1) *a complete little yob*, *complete* precedes *little yob*. Likewise in (2.2) *a very violent schizophrenic*, *very* precedes *violent*. As these two examples show, this normally amounts to a move to the left from the position that the adjective occupies as attribute. However, with

class-restricting strengtheners such as *pure* in (2.15) *Glenda Collins's marvellous pure pop single*, the position preceding the strengthened element is the first position in the categorization zone. As a result this special strengthening use figures as a counterexample to Adamson's (2000) subjective before objective ordering hypothesis.

2.3. Subjectification in the Langackerian sense

2.3.1. Langacker's concept of subjectification

As defined by Langacker (especially 1990, 1998, 1999), subjectivity is a construal-related notion (see also Langacker 2006a). That is to say, it pertains to the construal of an element as either subject or object in the conceptualization process. Langacker states that an element is "construed objectively to the extent that it is distinct from the conceptualizer and is put onstage as a salient object of conception" (Langacker 2002a: 17), while an entity construed with maximal subjectivity remains implicit, "inhering in the process of conceptualization without being its target" (Langacker 1998: 71). Defined in this way, subjective elements crucially relate to speaker and hearer, who in any language act assume the typically off-stage role of conceptualizers. As noted in Section 1.1.4, Langacker refers to speaker, hearer, and the speech situation as "the ground" (Langacker 1991: 53). Subjectification then involves the process whereby originally objectively construed elements come to invoke the ground. In other words, subjectification is concerned with the development of ground-related meanings.

In his writings, Langacker has described the subjectification process in two different ways. In his early articles on subjectification (Langacker 1990), it was defined as the realignment of an objectively construed relation to the subjective axis. From Langacker (1998) onwards, this interpretation has, under the influence of studies embedded in grammaticalization theory such as Verhagen (1995) and Harder (1996) (see Langacker 1999), been revised as a (gradual) diachronic process. While the original characterization simply identified the two states functioning as the beginning and end of the process, subjectification is now defined as attenuation of an original objectively construed relation, revealing a subjectively construed relation inherent in the process of conceptualization of the original objective relation. Thus, this new characterization recognizes the close correlation between subjectification on the one hand and semantic change and grammaticalization on the other hand.

In Langacker's own work as well as in other work dealing with Langackerian subjectification, the concept has been illustrated with the development of prepositions (Langacker 1990, 1998, 1999) and especially that of (modal) verbs into auxiliaries (Langacker 1990, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2003; Pelyvás 1996, 2001, 2006; Brisard 2002; Mortelmans 2002, 2004, 2006; Cornillie 2004, 2006, 2007). In the latter process lexical verbs designating a process develop into auxiliaries which relate the process expressed by another, lexical verb to the ground in terms of tense, aspect, or modal value. The Present-day English auxiliary *will*, for example, originally expressed an objective process, 'to want', and gradually developed into a subjective auxiliary signalling, amongst other things, that another process is located in the future. With regard to subjectification in the NP, Langacker (1990, 1998, 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a) observes that nominal grounding elements are crucially subjective and are as such the result of processes of subjectification, but there are no discussions in the literature of actual processes of Langackerian subjectification in the NP.

2.3.2. The development of determining or grounding elements in the English NP

The general literature on grammaticalization and diachronic change discusses several linguistic items developing (new) grounding or determining uses, without relating them to Langacker's notion of subjectification. The best known examples are of course the indefinite and definite articles *a* and *the*, which developed from numeral *one* and demonstrative *that* respectively. Both developments are instantiations of cross-linguistic paths of grammaticalization and they are therefore often studied from a typological perspective: they are included in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 220–221 on the indefinite article and 109–110 on the definite article) and Comrie (1983) and discussed in detail in typologically-oriented studies such as Givón (1981) and Heine (1997) for the indefinite article and Greenberg (1978), Himmelmann (1997) and Lyons (1999: Chapter 9) for the definite article. The two articles are also alike in that neither involves the addition of a 'new' grammatical item; rather, both are examples of shifts within one grammatical category, that of the determiners. As such, they are in origin grammatical elements that acquire 'more' grammatical meanings, or as Heine (1997: 81) concludes with respect to the indefinite article, "we saw how a numeral turns into a relatively abstract grammatical marker – that is, how a linguistic item having a fairly concrete semantics gradually loses that semantics and assumes a function relating to the organization of

texts". More specific contributions dealing with the development of the indefinite article in English are Rissanen (1967), Traugott (1982), Hopper and Martin (1987). For the definite article, some of the main studies focusing on the development of English *the* include Spamer (1979), Roberts and Roussou (2003: Chapters 4 and 5) and Hawkins (2004).

As they involve a development from one grammatical meaning to another one, the origination of the definite and indefinite articles can be categorized as a case of "secondary grammaticalization", i.e. a grammaticalization process whose input is a grammatical meaning rather than a lexical one (Traugott 2010, and also Hopper and Traugott 2003, Brinton and Traugott 2005). However, some of the studies cited above have (unsuccessfully) tried to argue that the grammaticalization process does have a lexical origin. In his early study about the development of the definite article, for example, Spamer (1979) hypothesizes that the source element for the development of definite *the*, the Old English demonstrative, was a lexical rather than a grammatical element. He suggests that at that time the demonstrative was a non-recursive attribute in the NP (Spamer (1979: 242) uses the term 'adjective'), which only later, when the attribute category became formally identical with the recursive classifier category (which Spamer (1979: 242) calls 'adjunct'), was reanalyzed as belonging to a different, new class, the determiners. This account is refuted in the literature in general. Moreover, it is argued by amongst others Plank (1979), Traugott (1982: 245), and especially Diessel (1999: 150–153) that it is highly unlikely that demonstratives themselves as grammatical items ultimately derive from lexical sources.

Other determiners have been suggested to have developed from fully lexical sources as well.¹¹ Plank (1992) argues for the recognition of a continuum of decreasing modifierhood and increasing determinerhood ranging from prototypical modifiers over demonstratives and pronominal possessives to (definite) articles, but refrains from making any real diachronic claims. Carlson, A. (1978) and Lightfoot (1979) propose that English quantifiers actually had adjectival status in Old English. But their claims are refuted by Fischer and van der Leek (1981: 311f), who show that the 'pre-quantifiers', i.e. Carlson (1978: 295) and Lightfoot (1979: 169)'s term for the Old English adjectival quantifiers, are, both inflectionally and distributionally, a separate category.

11. These articles do not actually use the term grammaticalization, but the diachronic discussions they contain can be placed under that heading.

Recently, two types of *N of N*-constructions have also been put forward as lexical sources grammaticalizing into identifier and quantifier uses. Firstly, Denison (2002, 2005), Brems (2004b, 2007a), Brems and Davidse (2010), De Smedt et al. (2007) and Davidse, Brems and De Smedt (2008) argue that type-noun constructions can develop a postdeterminer use in definite NPs, e.g. (2.16).

- (2.16) I mean I don't associate you with uh you know one of **these sort of skills** like like driving. (ICE-GB, quoted in Denison 2002: 2)

The purpose of *sort* in this NP is not to evoke 'a particular category of skills'. In examples such as this *sort/kind/type of* functions as a pre-modifier to the second N and performs a secondary determining function: it signals that reference is less precise, the referent *skills* is underdefined. It takes up the role of explicit marker of 'generalized reference' (Breban and Davidse 2005a, Breban 2008a; see Chapter 7, Section 7.5.1.2), i.e. it signals that the NP denotes a more general type abstracted from concrete entities. As was the case with *N of N*-constructions developing strengthening uses (Section 2.2.2), this subjectification process is structurally dependent on the reanalysis of the type noun from head to part of the premodifying structure.¹²

Secondly, we can see new determining meanings emerge in the grammaticalization of size noun constructions such as *(a) lot(s) of/(a) heap(s) of/(a) load(s) of* (Langacker 1991: 88–89, 2004b; Brems 2003, 2004a, 2007a, 2007b; Traugott 2008a, 2008b, 2010). Originally, these constructions are, like the type noun construction, interpreted as binominal NPs with the size noun as head followed by a postmodifying *of*-phrase, e.g. (2.16). This configuration undergoes grammaticalization and is re-analyzed as an ((*N of*) *N*)-structure in which 'size noun + *of*' behaves as quantifier premodifying the second noun, e.g. (2.17).

- (2.16) A jilted girlfriend got revenge on the boyfriend who dumped her by dumping a **foot-high pile of manure** in his bed. (CB, quoted in Brems 2003: 303)

12. Brems (2007a) pointed out that this postdeterminer use of *sort/kind/type of* typically occurs with a demonstrative primary determiner. Denison (2002, 2005) suggested that the postdeterminer use was always characterized by a distinctive formal feature: a mismatch between the plural number of the primary article and the singular form of the type noun. Other studies (Brems 2004b, 2007a; De Smedt et al. 2007, Davidse, Brems and De Smedt 2008) have shown that this formal mismatch is not a necessary feature of the postdeterminer use.

- (2.17) Mike Atherton has been warned he must score **piles of runs** for Lancashire to keep his England test place. (CB, quoted in Brems 2003: 302)

As shown in this section, several examples of grammaticalization from objective, descriptive uses to identifier and quantifier uses have been discussed in the literature. However, none of them has been looked at in terms of Langacker's definition of subjectification so far. As I will argue in this study, the grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison also involves the development of new determiner uses from the objective attribute use designating descriptive (non-)likeness. I will argue in detail that this development is a case of Langackerian subjectification and will devote special attention to the role of the new determining uses in the grounding of the NP. The analysis in Chapter 5 will hence provide a first detailed discussion of Langackerian subjectification in the English NP.

2.3.3. The development of grounding elements and leftward movement in the English NP

In Section 2.2.3, I concluded that the association of subjectification into strengthening elements and leftward movement in the English NP put forward by Adamson (2000) is a strong tendency, which interacts with other ordering principles. As I will propose here the leftward movement hypothesis has a stronger affinity with subjectification of grounding elements. That is to say, their association has a strong structural underpinning which goes back to the way the functional organization of the NP is reflected in its structure.

As explained in Chapter 1, the three main functions in the English NP, determination, quality-attribution, and categorization, are typically associated with three zones in its syntagmatic structure: determination with the leftmost zone, quality-attribution with the central zone, and categorization with the rightmost zone. The development of grounding, or determining, uses from elements that originally conveyed objective meaning such as attributes and head nouns thus involves a functional shift from quality-attribution/categorization to determination. Structurally, such a shift entails a move from the central or rightmost zones to the leftmost, determination zone. The model of the NP hence predicts that this kind of subjectification always involves leftward movement. In Chapters 10 and 11,

I will further develop this theoretical claim and test it on the basis of diachronic language material.¹³

2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have given an overview of the different processes of grammaticalization that have been proposed to take place in the English NP. I have argued that they can be arranged into two main types on the basis of the sort of subjectification they involve. One general path of grammaticalization leads to strengthening elements. It is concerned with the development of meanings related to the speaker's attitudes, which can be analyzed in terms of Traugott's (2003a, 2007a, 2010; Traugott and Dasher 2002) views of (inter)subjectification. A second grammaticalization path leads to determining or grounding elements and can be captured by Langacker's (1990, 1998, 1999) notion of subjectification. I also discussed how these two paths interact with the structure of the English NP and to what extent they correlate with leftward movement (Adamson 2000).

13. Taking a more general perspective (see also Section 2.2.3.1), the claim made here for the English NP can possibly be extended to other VO-languages, in which the NP displays 'leftward branching', i.e. the head noun of the NP is found at the right end of the NP with the different modifiers such as articles, quantifiers, and adjectives preceding it. For languages in which the NP branches out to the right or in which leftward and rightward branching are combined, the type of movement discussed here as leftward movement in English could take the form of 'periphery movement' in general. This more general claim accords with the cross-linguistic functional model of the NP proposed by Rijkhoff (2002) on the basis of the typological investigation of 52 languages, in which the head noun constitutes the functional centre and the different modifiers are arranged on hierarchical layers around it. As a result, the order of the different modifiers remains the same independent of their location on the left or the right of the head noun.

3. English adjectives of general comparison

3.1. Introduction¹

As pointed out in the general introduction, the English adjectives of comparison are a rather neglected topic of research. They have only been discussed as a group by Halliday and Hasan (1976), who provide a preliminary characterization of the different functions of these adjectives and their grammatical reflexes within the framework of Halliday's (1994 [1985]) functional grammar analysis of the NP. Although they make several important observations, the confrontation of their analysis with actual language material and further grammatical argumentation revealed that there are also some important misconceptions and oversights (see also Breban and Davidse 2003). In this chapter I will use Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis as a starting point and discuss it step by step in order to arrive at an extended, more accurate, description of these adjectives.

In Section 3.2, I will summarize Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis. Section 3.3 discusses the problems this analysis runs into when confronted with the extensive corpus study of ten adjectives of comparison in current English. However, as I will show in Sections 3.3.2.4 and 3.4, this discussion provides the basis for a new global analysis of the adjectives. Before summarizing the old and the new description in Section 3.6, I will briefly zoom in on one particular aspect of Halliday and Hasan's argumentation, the association of distinct functions of adjectives of comparison with different structural positions in the NP in Section 3.5.

3.2. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis of English adjectives of general comparison

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 76–77) define the class of “adjectives of general comparison” as adjectives that express comparison “in terms of likeness and unlikeness without respect to any particular property”. ‘General comparison’ can be contrasted with the ‘particular comparison’

1. This chapter is largely a summary of the findings reported on in Breban (2002) and Breban and Davidse (2003).

expressed by the comparative forms of ordinary adjectives, which compare entities with respect to a specific quality or quantity. The comparative form *redder*, for example, indicates that the quality ‘red’ is present to a higher degree. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 77–78) divide the field of general comparison into three subfields, identity, i.e. “‘two things’ are, in fact, the same thing” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 77); similarity, i.e. “two things are like each other” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 77); and difference, which conflates the negatives of the two other concepts, non-identity and non-similarity. They associate the three subfields with the following adjectives:

- i) identity: *same*, *equal* and *identical*;
- ii) similarity: *similar*;
- iii) difference: *other* and *different*. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 76)²

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 78–80), ‘likeness’ as expressed by the adjectives of comparison can be construed either as a “referential” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 78) or as an “internal” property (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80), e.g. (3.1–3.3) and (3.4) respectively.

- (3.1) There were two wrens upon a tree. **Another** came, and there were three. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 31)
- (3.2) There are **other qualities** than conviviality needed for this job. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 78)
- (3.3) Would you prefer **the other seats**? (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 79)
- (3.4) The candidates gave **three similar answers**. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80)

In the case of **referential comparison**, the comparative adjective expresses likeness with respect to something else (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 78; in the examples, this element is underlined), that is with a separately expressed second entity. As pointed out by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 78–79), this entity can either be directly available in the preceding discourse, in which case it is anaphorically retrievable, as illustrated in (3.1), or in the following discourse, i.e. it is cataphorically retrievable, as

2. The adjectives listed by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 76) do not exhaust these fields. In the corpus study presented by Breban (2002) and Breban and Davidse (2003), for example, ten adjectives were investigated: the six adjectives cited by Halliday and Hasan supplemented with *additional* and *further* for difference, and *comparable* and *related* for similarity.

in (3.2), or it can be present in the speech situation rather than in the actual discourse, e.g. (3.3). In that case, it is exophorically retrievable. When construing **internal comparison**, by contrast, the adjective expresses “likeness as *mutual* likeness without a referent appearing as a distinct entity” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 78). Two or more entities denoted by the same NP are simply “being compared to each other” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80), as in (3.4).³

In a second step, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 80) correlate referential and internal comparative construal with two functional elements in the NP in a strict one-to-one sense. The referential construal is associated strictly with the **postdeterminer** function, i.e. secondary determining elements that aid identification by specifying further deictic information (see Chapter 1, Sections 1.1.2 and 1.2.5). Concretely, comparative post-determiners bring about identification of the referent-set by signalling “its similarity/dissimilarity to some other designated subset” (Halliday 1994: 183). For instance, in (3.3) *would you prefer the other seats?*, the primary determiner *the* expresses that the hearer is supposed to be able to identify the seats in question. The postdeterminer *other* makes clear which seats precisely the speaker is referring to by specifying that they are not those that are directly exophorically retrievable. Internal comparison is associated with the **attribute** function, i.e. the central elements in the NP that attribute a quality to the designated entity (Chapter 1, Sections 1.1.2 and 1.2.5). In the case of the adjectives of comparison, this quality is ‘a certain degree of likeness’. *Similar* in (3.4) *the candidates gave three similar answers*, for instance, conveys that the answers of the different candidates had a high degree of likeness. Summing up, referential comparison is, according to Halliday and Hasan, always associated with the post-determiner function, i.e. with the identification of the entity denoted by the NP, whereas internal comparison always amounts to the attribution of the quality of (non-)likeness to the entities in question.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 80) also link a positional criterion to their definition of comparative postdeterminers and attributes. They connect them to specific positions relative to the quantifier in the NP. As post-determiner, adjectives of comparison are stipulated to precede any quanti-

3. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1101f) make a similar distinction between “term comparison”, i.e. “comparison between a primary term and a secondary term” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1101), and “set comparison”, i.e. “comparison between the members of some set” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1102).

fier present, while as attribute they are said to follow quantifiers. Halliday and Hasan illustrate this contrast with the following pair of examples

(3.5) They were **a different two colours**. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80)

(3.6) They were **two different colours**. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80)

and comment that *different* in (3.5) means “different from the two referred to”, whereas it means “different from each other” in (3.6) (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80). Halliday and Hasan themselves nuance this positional recognition criterion, noting that “usage is not totally consistent, however, and one not infrequently comes across the second type [with adjectives of comparison following the quantifier *T.B.*] used in the first of the two meanings [i.e. the postdeterminer meaning *T.B.*]” (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80).

3.3. Problems encountered by Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) analysis

Although Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) treatment of adjectives of comparison in terms of two distinct construal patterns in the NP is an eye-opener, it has to be corrected, refined and supplemented in a number of ways. In this section, I will show that there are problems with several steps of Halliday and Hasan’s reasoning.

3.3.1. Classifier and quantifier uses of adjectives of comparison

A first problem is that Halliday and Hasan only distinguish post-determiner and attribute uses of adjectives of comparison. They do not recognize the fact that these adjectives can have other uses in the NP as well.

Firstly, adjectives of comparison can also function as classifier, denoting a subtype of the general type designated by the head noun (see Chapter 1, Sections 1.1.2 and 1.2.5). In (3.7), for instance, *other* conveys that different ‘subtypes’ of issues, besides political ones, have to be derived from the general type as well.

(3.7) As Russian and Chechen working groups held talks on **Grozny’s political and other issues** yesterday, religious leaders and elders killed five cows in a political sacrifice for peace. (CB)

This classifier use of adjectives of comparison was pointed out by Breban (2002) and Breban and Davidse (2003), who report on a preliminary

corpus investigation of English adjectives of general comparison. They investigated the prenominal uses of ten adjectives of comparison, *other*, *different*, *additional*, *further*, *same*, *identical*, *equal*, *similar*, *comparable*, and *related*, in synchronic corpus data.⁴ One of their key findings was that adjectives of comparison, such as *other* in (3.7) can be used as classifiers in the NP.

Breban (2002: 33–34) and Breban and Davidse (2003: 271) explain how this classifier use establishes a phoric relation analogous to the postdeterminer use, which was illustrated in (3.1) *another [wren]*. In (3.1), *other* construed an anaphoric relation to *two wrens* and added a new one. The classifier *other* in (3.7) in the same way sets up an anaphoric relation to the classifier *political*, requiring the hearer to fill in additional subtypes of issues than political ones. Both uses of *other*, the postdeterminer use in (3.1) and the classifier use in (3.7), employ the same phoric mechanism of non-identity.⁵ The only difference between classifier and postdeterminer is that the latter establishes such a phoric relation with respect to a subtype rather than an entity.

A second use that remains unaccounted for in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis is the quantifier use illustrated in (3.8).

- (3.8) I was so happy: the first show I entered, and I won a trophy!
 Since then I have shown many other birds and taken prizes at
different shows. (CB)

In this example, *different* expresses that the speaker has been awarded prizes at several shows. Its value is hence that of an absolute quantifier giving a direct, but unspecified description of the magnitude of the instantiation. In Breban (2006a), I proposed that this quantifier meaning can be

4. The compilation of the data base used by Breban (2002) and Breban and Davidse (2003) was performed in the following way. For each of the ten adjectives a sample of 400 examples was extracted from the COBUILD corpus (Bank of English) via the Collins WordbanksOnline service, constituting either the total occurrence of that adjective in the COBUILD corpus or a random sample of its total occurrence. This yielded a total of approximately 4,000 examples. As the focus of the studies was restricted to prenominal attribute versus postdeterminer uses, all adjectival uses found outside the NP or in post-modifier position were excluded in the course of the analysis. This compilation process resulted in a corpus of 2,428 data, providing subcorpora of between 140 and 340 tokens for each adjective.

5. I will discuss the status of postdeterminer and classifier uses of adjectives of comparison as phoric elements in greater detail in Part II of this study.

conveyed by *different* and other adjectives of the subfield of difference such as *several*, *sundry* and *various*.

3.3.2. The one-to-one association of attribute use and internal comparison versus postdeterminer use and referential comparison

A second criticism of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis is more fundamental as it concerns the core of their analysis, that is, the strict association of referential and internal comparison, i.e. comparison with or without a separately coded second entity, with the postdeterminer and the attribute function in the NP respectively. When this correlation was confronted with actual corpus data (Breban 2002; Breban and Davidse 2003), the analysis turned out to be very problematic. In (3.9) for instance, *same*, according to Halliday and Hasan, expresses internal comparison, but it has none of the semantic or formal properties normally associated with attributes.

- (3.9) Each successive floor is substantially shallower than the one below. All have **the same three bands of masonry**, but the blocks are dramatically smaller. (CB)

Firstly, it does not attribute a degree of likeness to the entities denoted by the NP, i.e. the bands. That is to say, it does not convey that the three bands are completely alike on the different floors, but rather that the brickwork on each floor contains three bands. Secondly, it occurs in the position preceding, instead of following, the quantifier *three*.

I thus had to take recourse to different criteria to sort out postdeterminer and attribute uses in the corpus data. In order to distinguish the attribute uses, I employed the two generally recognized grammatical recognition criteria for attributehood, the possibility of predicative alternation and gradability. As noted in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.4.1), attribute uses are the only prenominal uses in which adjectives behave as 'central' adjectives, i.e. allowing predicative alternation and gradability (Crystal 1967; Coates 1971; Quirk et al. 1972). Postdeterminers, by contrast, do not have these possibilities and as such display the formal characteristics of peripheral adjectives. Applying these two recognition tests to the data, it became clear that some examples which Halliday and Hasan would classify as attributes were in fact postdeterminers and vice versa.

In Sections 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.2, I will provide a more detailed discussion of the two criteria for attributehood, predicative alternation and

gradability respectively. Section 3.3.2.3 comments on their application to the actual corpus data in Breban (2002) and Breban and Davidse (2003). Finally, in section 3.3.2.4, I will discuss how the systematic application of these two criteria also reveals a new basic semantic distinction, comparison as attribution of the gradable quality of likeness to an entity as opposed to the use of the comparative notions of identity and non-identity to aid identification.

3.3.2.1. *Predicative alternation and adjectives of comparison*

As argued by Coates (1971), Quirk et al. (1972), Bache (1978), and particularly Bolinger (1967), the most generally applicable formal test to determine the attributehood of a prenominal adjective is the possibility of predicative alternation. As noted in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.4.1), the only prenominal adjective use that allows alternation with the predicate use in copular clauses is the attribute use. The fact that the two uses are related in this formal way reflects the semantic equivalence of the functions of attribution and predication. In both a quality is attributed to an entity. The difference between them relates to the status of this entity: either it is the referent of the NP or it is the subject of the copular clause. Thus with the attribute use, the attribution relation is comprised in the NP itself, whereas in the predicative use it is made explicit by means of a copular verb. Postdeterminers, classifiers, and quantifiers, by contrast, do not allow predicative alternates, as none of them convey a similar attribution relation. The postdeterminer provides additional deictic information, while the classifier denotes a subtype of the general type, and the quantifier conveys the size of the instantiation.

In order to see how this grammatical test works out for adjectives of comparison, consider examples (3.10–3.13).

- (3.10) This southern milk is nowhere near as nice as green top milk.
No way.
A different taste altogether isn't it? Completely different. (CB)
- (3.11) If you have problems once you arrive at the cottage, the agency may be able to move you to **a different house** or solve the difficulty. (CB)
- (3.12) As Russian and Chechen working groups held talks on **Grozny's political and other issues** yesterday, religious leaders and elders killed five cows in a political sacrifice for peace. (CB)

- (3.13) I was so happy: the first show I entered, and I won a trophy! Since then I have shown many other birds and taken prizes at **different shows**. (CB)

In example (3.10), *different* functions as attribute: it expresses that the taste of southern milk is not at all like that of green top milk. In example (3.11), by contrast, *different* is used as a postdeterminer equivalent to *other* in example (3.1): it indicates that another house is referred to than the previously mentioned cottage. *Other* in (3.12) performs the function of classifier, deriving additional subtypes of the general type, and *different* in (3.13) is used as quantifier. Example (3.10) clearly allows for a pragmatically equivalent predicative alternate, e.g. *the taste of southern milk is different altogether isn't it*, whereas (3.11), (3.12) and (3.13) do not. The predicative alternate of (3.11), **a house that is different*, does not convey the original message of (3.11): *different* no longer refers to another house than the cottage, but rather expresses that this second house will be 'unlike' the original cottage. Likewise, the predicative alternate of (3.13), **prizes at shows that are different*, triggers a semantic change to the description of the shows as unlike the first one. The predicative alternate of (3.12), **Grozny's political issues and issues that are other*, is ungrammatical.⁶

3.3.2.2. *Gradability and adjectives of comparison*

A second criterion of attributehood that was put forward in the literature by amongst others Bolinger (1967), Quirk et al. (1972), Bache (1978), Halliday (1994 [1985]) and McGregor (1997), is gradability. As explained by Quirk et al. (1972), gradability only applies to qualities that can be "thought of as having values on a scale" (Quirk et al. 1972: 289). As a consequence, not all attributes are gradable in this way. For instance, the set of adjectives characterized by Paradis (1997, 2001) as 'limit adjectives', e.g. *dead* in *his dead father*, have predicative alternates, e.g. *his father*

6. In Present-day English *other* is used as a predicate only in a very restricted set of constructions, e.g. when followed by a complement as in *It turns out that the US policy is in fact other than he stated* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1145). However, as we will see in Chapter 6, *other* did occur more regularly as predicate (and as attribute) in earlier stages of English (see also OED Vol. 7: 229).

is *dead*, but are not gradable.⁷ Postdeterminers and classifiers are never gradable in this sense, as they do not express qualities in the first place.⁸

If adjectives designate a gradable quality, gradability can be coded in two ways, either by submodification, i.e. the addition of a strengthening element as in *very red*, or by the use of comparative and superlative forms of the adjectives themselves, e.g. *redder*, *reddest*. However, the gradability of adjectives of comparison is more restricted than that of ordinary qualitative adjectives such as *red*. They basically do not take degrees of comparison, but they can be submodified by items such as *very*.

Firstly, the adjectives are hardly ever found in comparative or superlative forms. They cannot take morphological degrees of comparison, e.g. **differenter*, **differentest*, and although there are a few instances of periphrastic comparative forms in the COBUILD corpus, these seem to be restricted to instances of verbal play. In the expression *Some are more equal than others*, for instance, the grading of *equal* cancels the ordinary meaning of the adjective. The virtual absence of comparative and superlative forms can be semantically explained. Degrees of comparison **add** a comparative meaning to the quality expressed by the attribute: *a redder strawberry* conveys that this strawberry has more of the quality 'redness' than another one. The lexical attribute meaning of adjectives of comparison is already intrinsically concerned with comparison. Therefore, the

7. Paradis (1997, 2001) in fact distinguishes three types of adjectives on the basis of their gradability. 'Scalar adjectives', e.g. *long*, are "fully gradable" (Paradis 2001: 51), i.e. they occur in comparative and superlative forms and combine with scalar degree modifiers. 'Extreme adjectives', e.g. *terrible*, represent the ultimate point of a scale. Because of their semantics, they are less easily conceivable as comparatives and superlatives. Moreover, they only combine with a special set of degree modifiers, with 'reinforcing totality modifiers' such as *absolutely* and *totally*. The final type, 'limit adjectives' such as *dead*, are not associated with a scale at all and therefore do not occur in comparative and superlative constructions. They can however, similar to extreme adjectives, combine with totality modifiers, e.g. "*completely dead*" (Paradis 2001: 52).

8. As indicated in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.3.2), classifiers can be preceded by a special group of submodifying elements, strengthening adverbs such as *strictly*, *loosely*, *broadly*, *largely*, *mainly*. The function of these adverbs is not to indicate to what degree a quality is present, instead, they indicate how strictly or loosely the classification applies, e.g. in *a strictly male audience* it applies 100%, but in *a largely male audience* it may apply to only 90% of the members of the audience.

ordinary semantics of the degrees of comparison cannot be applied to these adjectives in their attribute use.

Secondly, as shown in (3.14) and (3.15), adjectives of comparison can be graded by submodifiers.

- (3.14) At the Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth two former ministers Nicholas Ridley and Michael Heseltine have expressed **very different views on European integration**. Mr Ridley said only Mrs Thatcher could stop moves towards European federalism. Mr Heseltine on the other hand [...] (CB)
- (3.15) The Queensland Government, which has **virtually identical industrial laws** to the federal Act, also has refused an ACTU request to change its laws. (CB)

But the set of submodifiers that these adjectives occur with is quite limited. The most common submodifier found in the corpus data is *very*, as in (3.14).⁹ Besides *very*, submodification appears to be restricted to certain specific collocations such as *virtually identical*, *roughly similar*, *completely different* and *fully comparable*. Submodifiers have a slightly different semantics when combined with an adjective of comparison. In combination with an ordinary adjective, they “measure the intensity” (Breban and Davidse 2003: 283) with which the quality denoted by the attribute is present (see Halliday and Hasan’s (1976: 77) definition of particular comparison). Adjectives of comparison, by contrast, do not designate a particular quality, but attribute degrees of likeness, i.e. they indicate how many qualitative features entities share. When added to an adjective of comparison, the submodifier serves to augment or reduce the implied number of shared features. In example (3.15), for instance, *virtually* specifies that the industrial laws of Queensland are in nearly all respects equal to the federal Act.

3.3.2.3. *The two tests of attributehood applied to the corpus data*

In the previous sections, I have discussed how the formal recognition tests of predicative alternation and gradability allow one to pick out the

9. There are data in which *very* is combined with a postdeterminer, e.g. in the expression *the very same*. But this does not entail that the adjective is gradable in these examples. On the contrary, in such postdeterminer examples, *very* does not grade any quality of likeness, but emphasizes the definite reference to one specific entity, as in *the very one*.

attribute uses of adjectives of comparison. When these two tests are applied to the actual language data, it becomes clear that for some examples, the results clash with those of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) main criterion for the distinction of comparative attributes from comparative postdeterminers, which is, referential versus internal construal of the comparison. As the following discussion will show, there are attribute examples with referential construal, i.e. comparison involving a separately expressed entity, as well as postdeterminer examples which have internal comparison, without a separately expressed second entity.

Examples such as (3.16) and (3.17), firstly, have comparison with a separately coded entity.

- (3.16) I think another nice example is recent work we've done relating to the catalytic conversion of two isomers, meta and para-xylene. These are two molecules with slightly different shapes, [. . .]. What our computer simulations have shown is that the "meta" isomer essentially gets stuck at a particular site within the pores of this zeolite, but the zeolite can convert the "meta" into the "para" isomer. The "para" isomer, because of **its different shape** can then diffuse rapidly through the pores of the zeolite and can escape, and therefore is the dominant product. (CB)
- (3.17) Again, the weather report in Haifa is not my expertise at this exact moment, but Haifa's **a very different city** from Tel Aviv which is very flat and open and the dissipation of chemical agents will be much swifter. (CB)

In (3.16) the second element of the comparison appears in the text preceding the NP *its different shape*: the "para" isomer has a different shape from the "meta" isomer mentioned earlier in the text. In (3.17), the NP *a very different city* is predicated of Haifa. The city it is so different from is mentioned in the following discourse, in the postmodifier *from Tel Aviv*.

However, contrary to the predictions of Halliday and Hasan (1976), the NPs with *different* in these two examples have semantically equivalent predicative alternates, as shown in (3.16) bis a and (3.17) bis a, and can be graded by submodifiers. Example (3.17) already contained the submodifier *very* and in (3.16) *very* can be added, e.g. (3.16) bis b.

- (3.16) bis a The "para" isomer, because of **its shape, which is different**, can then diffuse rapidly through the pores of the zeolite

(3.17) bis a the city of Haifa **is very different** from Tel Aviv which is very flat and open

(3.16) bis b The “para” isomer, because of **its very different shape** can then diffuse rapidly through the pores of the zeolite

Semantically, the adjectives also have a clear attribute meaning: they attribute the quality of ‘unlikeness’ to the entity denoted by the NP. In other words, they convey that the two entities being compared are unlike each other in several respects or that they have several qualitative features that are not shared. In (3.17), for example, Haifa is said to be unlike Tel Aviv or to have different characteristics as a city. Two of these characteristics, flat and open, are identified in the following discourse.

The corpus data also include examples for which Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) analysis posits an attribute interpretation, but which do not yield positive results for the two tests of attributehood. Examples (3.18) and (3.19) both construe internal comparison.

(3.18) A United Nations official leading a team of experts investigating Iraq’s nuclear capability says that during visits to **different sites in Iraq** today the authorities have been very co-operative. (CB)

(3.19) About ten years ago when I first flirted with the term, I had nothing in the world and I wanted something. I got some of that, so I thought about how corrupt I was, always wanting to be drunk or stoned, always with **a different girl**. (CB)

In (3.18), the entities that are involved in the comparative relation are the distinct sites in Iraq that the team visited that day, which are all designated by the plural NP *different sites*. In (3.19), the comparison invokes a distributive reading of the singular NP *a different girl*, supported by the multiplying value of the adverb *always*: each instance of the speaker’s ‘being with a girl’ involved another girl.

Even though the comparison is in both examples NP-internal, the adjective *different* does not formally behave as an attribute. Firstly, in neither of the examples does it have a semantically equivalent predicative alternate. As becomes apparent from (3.18)bis a and (3.19)bis a, turning the NP into a predicative construction results in an obvious change in meaning.

(3.18) bis a they visited **sites that were different**

(3.19) bis a always wanting to be drunk or stoned, always with **a girl that was different**

For (3.19)bis a, the predicative alternate no longer refers to another instance of girl, but expresses that the girls are all unlike each other. A similar change in meaning can be observed in (3.18)bis a, in which the sites in question are ascribed different sets of qualitative features. Likewise, (3.18) and (3.19) cannot be graded by a submodifier.

(3.18)bis b during visits to **very different sites in Iraq** today the authorities have been very co-operative

(3.19)bis b always wanting to be drunk or stoned, always with **a very different girl**

The addition of *very* in (3.18)bis b and (3.19)bis b results in similar semantic changes to the ones just discussed for (3.18)bis a and (3.19)bis a.

Thus, we can conclude that the generalization proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 78–80) for the postdeterminer and the attribute uses of adjectives of comparison, the strict correlation with referential and internal comparison respectively, proves to be untenable. Both postdeterminer and attribute meanings can construe comparison with a distinctly coded entity as well as internal comparison.

3.3.2.4. A new semantic generalization: gradable likeness versus (non-)identity

In this section, we will see how Halliday and Hasan's (1976) untenable distinction between referential and internal comparison can, with constant reference to the data, be reconstructed into a new semantic generalization.

All examples that test positive for the two formal attribute tests, no matter which type of comparison they involve, have a similar meaning. They all designate 'gradable likeness' or the degree of (un)likeness between two entities. Put differently, they measure how many qualitative features the entities being compared share. In example (3.4) (reproduced here as 3.20), the answers being compared are all referents of the NP itself. Semantically, the attribute *similar* measures the likeness between these answers as high. Examples with a separately coded entity such as (3.16) (reproduced here as 3.21) convey a comparable meaning: they ascribe a degree of likeness to the designated entity and the separately coded second entity. In this particular example, the number of qualitative features that the shapes of the two types of isomers share is marked as low by *different*.

(3.20) The candidates gave **three similar answers**. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80)

- (3.21) I think another nice example is recent work we've done relating to the catalytic conversion of two isomers, meta and para-xylene. These are two molecules with slightly different shapes, [...]. What our computer simulations have shown is that the "meta" isomer essentially gets stuck at a particular site within the pores of this zeolite, but the zeolite can convert the "meta" into the "para" isomer. The "para" isomer, because of **its different shape** can then diffuse rapidly through the pores of the zeolite and can escape, and therefore is the dominant product. (CB)

The examples that do not allow predicative alternation and gradation by submodifiers, likewise have a common semantics. These adjective uses are not concerned with 'likeness', but they compare referents in the sense that they indicate relations of identity or non-identity between them. When there is a separately coded referent in the context, as in (3.3) (reproduced here as 3.22) and (3.23), the comparative adjective establishes a relation of non-identity or identity between the referent of the NP and this other discourse referent.

- (3.22) Would you prefer **the other seats**? (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 79)
- (3.23) "In a nutshell, what was your life about?" GORDON:
 "I joined the Sydney Daily Telegraph as a copy boy, fresh out of Melbourne High School." [...] SCULLY: "I was a copy boy on **the same paper**." (CB)

In (3.22), *other* signals that there is a relation of non-identity between the seats that the speaker is talking about and the seats that speaker and hearer are currently close to; they are not the same ones. In (3.23) the adjective *same* establishes a relation of identity. The paper that the second interviewee worked on as a copy boy is the same one as that which the first interviewee started on. In the former example, the relation established by the adjective of comparison is an exophoric relation of non-identity. In the latter, it is an anaphoric relation of identity.

In examples with internal comparison, the adjectives of comparison denote similar referential relations of identity and non-identity involving the different referents denoted by the NP itself. Take for example (3.19) (reproduced here as 3.24) and (3.25).

- (3.24) About ten years ago when I first flirted with the term, I had nothing in the world and I wanted something. I got some of that, so I thought about how corrupt I was, always wanting to be drunk or stoned, always with **a different girl**. (CB)

- (3.25) When two brothers who are ambitious young race drivers have to share **the same car** there can be tensions beyond those normally associated with sibling rivalry. (CB)

In (3.24), *different* denotes the non-identity of the distinct instances of girls the speaker has had a relation with. It was never the same girl. By contrast, the adjective *same* in (3.25) conveys that the car that one brother can use to race and the car that is at the disposal of the second brother are one and the same car. The postdeterminer hence clarifies the make-up of the instantial set, i.e. the set of referents denoted by the NP. It specifies either that the instantial set consists of multiple instances or that it refers to a single instance when the hearer might be expecting various instances.

The discussion of the data in this section has shown that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) distinction of attribute versus postdeterminer uses of the adjectives of comparison has to be connected with other semantic and formal characterizations than internal versus referential comparison. It is not the case that attribute uses always express internal comparison and that postdeterminer uses always construe a relation to a separately coded entity. The term referential comparison as used by Halliday and Hasan (1976) is, as a consequence, particularly misleading as it reduces comparison with a separately coded entity to a 'referential' mechanism. Halliday and Hasan's (1976: 78) choice of the label 'referential' is connected with their interpretation of the concept of reference in general, which they define as a type of cohesion in which the referring item establishes a cohesive link to another item, the referent. Following Martin (1992), I adhere to a more specific interpretation of the notion. 'Reference' is not related to the 'referent of a cohesive link' but to the 'referent of the NP'. The term 'reference' as used in this study hence encompasses all aspects that are concerned with the identification of the referent of the NP. I will therefore henceforth use the term external comparison for the general pattern involving a separately expressed item.

3.4. Further analysis of the referential meaning: including the classifier use

In Section 3.3.1, I showed that adjectives of comparison could also be used as classifier in the NP. As was briefly discussed there, when comparative adjectives are used as classifiers, they derive a subtype from the general type by **phoric** means in the same way as the phoric postdeterminer

identified instances in the discourse by phoric means.¹⁰ This is why these classifier uses will be referred to as ‘phoric classifiers’. The only difference between phoric postdeterminers and phoric classifiers is that whereas postdeterminers construe phoric relations between instances, classifiers establish phoric relations between subtypes.

As with the phoric postdeterminer uses, it is the concepts of identity and non-identity that are used to construe phoric classifier relations. Examples (3.7) (reproduced here as 3.26) and (3.27) illustrate the two different possibilities.

- (3.26) As Russian and Chechen working groups held talks on **Grozny’s political and other issues** yesterday, religious leaders and elders killed five cows in a political sacrifice for peace. (CB)
- (3.27) Last night, Rapid beat Feyenoord 3–0 in Austria for a 4–1 aggregate victory, while Paris followed up their 1–0 win in Spain with **an identical second-leg victory** over Deportivo La Coruna. (CB)

In (3.26), *Grozny’s political and other issues*, *other* sets up an anaphoric relation of non-identity with the classifier *political* and in this way derives additional subtypes from the general type ‘issues’. The adjective *identical* in (3.27) marks a phoric relation of identity. It conveys that the second-leg victory of Paris is an instance of the same subtype as their first win, the subtype ‘1–0’.

Without forestalling the quantitative analysis of the data in Part II, I will note here that from a distributional point of view, the classifier uses are in two respects more ‘marked’ than the postdeterminer uses.¹¹ Firstly, the data contain a much smaller portion of classifier data and the classifier

10. Martin (1992: 98) introduces the term ‘phoric’ as a cover term for the relations of anaphora, in which the second entity is found in the preceding text, cataphora, in which it is part of the following discourse, and other specific types of phoric relations (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 31f).

11. The concept of ‘markedness’ is here, following Greenberg (1966) and Halliday (1991, 1993), interpreted as being reflected by relative infrequency. Although the association of markedness and frequency has been contested in the literature, it can be a very useful tool when considered as a strong tendency rather than an absolute correlation (see also Bybee and Hopper 2001: 1). Halliday (1991) defines markedness in this respect as

An unmarked term is a default condition: that which is selected unless there is good reason for selecting some other term. It is not **defined** by frequency, but it is likely to correspond to the more probable term in a system whose probabilities are skew. (Halliday 1991, reproduced in Halliday 2005: 68)

use is restricted to certain adjectives only. Secondly, the classifier use is, as implied in the discussion so far, limited to examples with external comparison, i.e. examples that construe a phoric link to a subtype mentioned or implied elsewhere in the discourse. The NP-internal referential uses of adjectives of comparison always seem to be bound to the determiner in the data, i.e. they function as postdeterminers.

3.5. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) positional recognition criterion for attribute and postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison

I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of the positional recognition criterion proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 80) for attribute and postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison. As noted in Section 3.2, according to this criterion, attributes and postdeterminers can be told apart on the basis of their position vis-à-vis a numerative element in the NP. Halliday and Hasan posit that whereas attributes can only follow quantifiers, e.g. *different* in (3.28), postdeterminers tend to precede them, e.g. *different* in (3.29). But they admit that the order quantifier + postdeterminer is found occasionally as well (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80).

(3.28) They were **two different colours**. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80)

(3.29) They were **a different two colours**. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 80)

Let us review this criterion against the general prototypical order of prenominal elements in the English NP, which is represented in Figure 3.1.

determiners > attributes > classifiers > head noun

Figure 3.1. General order of prenominal elements in the English NP

It was noted in Chapter 1 that the different functions that elements can fulfil in the English NP are associated with different zones in the syntagmatic structure of the NP. Determination is found at the left end, categorization at the right end, and attribution occupies the central zone. As a result, the relative order of elements belonging to different zones is determined by the relative order of the zones. For the uses concerned here this means that determiners (subsuming postdeterminers and quantifiers) precede attributes in the prenominal string and attributes in turn precede classifiers, which belong to the categorization zone.

When confronted with these general ordering principles, Halliday and Hasan's (1976) positional criterion seems to be accurate for the attribute uses of adjectives of comparison, which they claim can never precede any quantifiers. In the model of the NP, attributes as part of the attribution zone follow any determiners, i.e. any identifiers or quantifiers. The ordering principles, however, do not make any predictions regarding the position of comparative postdeterminers in the NP, as both postdeterminers and quantifiers belong to the same zone, determination. In order to shed light on the relative order of postdeterminers and quantifiers, we have to examine the ordering principles at work within the determination zone.

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.3), I argued that determiners engage in a 'scoping relation' (McGregor 1997) in the NP, i.e. they have scope over the instantial set denoted by the NP and specify its referential status. This analysis entails that when the determination zone consists of more than one determiner, one of them will have more general scope and include the other in its scoping domain. McGregor (1997: 213) says the following about this type of 'nesting' within scoping relationships:

the nesting relationship between conjugational relationships is reflected to some extent in the linear ordering of the scoping or framing linguistic units [...] Moreover, if one scoping or framing unit encloses another, it is typically the case that the enclosing one is the outermost. These are, however, no more than tendencies, and it is not generally possible to read off nesting relationships from linear order, or to definitely predict linear order from nesting relationships. (McGregor 1997: 213)

Based on this, it can further be posited that a determiner's 'wider' scope will be reflected in a more peripheral position in the NP, i.e. a more left position in the determination zone. In other words, that determiner which has scope over the other one will typically precede the other one in the NP. This analysis of the internal order of the determination zone does not offer any direct support for Halliday and Hasan's (1976) claim that postdeterminers usually precede quantifiers.

Moreover, when we look at actual language data, both the order that Halliday and Hasan (1976) suggest to be most common, i.e. post-determiner > quantifier, and the opposite order are found. But, as argued in Breban (2005), which reports on a detailed corpus study of the differences between the two possible orders of the adjective *other*, the two patterns have a different meaning due to the different scoping relations involved. Breban (2005) discusses the grammatical and semantic differences between the two patterns 'postdeterminer + quantifier' and 'quantifier +

postdeterminer' in two samples of 100 data extracted from the COBUILD corpus via the Collins WordbanksOnline service with the queries 'cardinal number/*few/many/several other*' and '(an)*other* cardinal number/*few/many/several*'. The findings of this study are the following.

When the quantifier precedes the postdeterminer as in (3.30) and (3.31), it has the widest scope and is hence not part of the scoping domain of the postdeterminer.

- (3.30) "Erm can you think of any times when what you've been doing and learning in one subject links with wh links with what you've been doing and learning in other subjects" "Er yeah. I think last year erm in geography we were doing about water and in science we were doing the same and things like that. I mean we had **the two same diagrams** in each book." (CB)
- (3.31) Ramsay Trend, of Goodna, was fishing with his brother Daniel, girlfriend Katy Booth and **two other friends** under the Fernvale bridge on the Brisbane Valley Highway where they had camped for the night, when he was shot in the back with a .22 bullet. (CB)

The scoping relation construed by the postdeterminer only extends to the instantial set as designated by the head noun and the classifying and attributive adjectives, i.e. the specific instances denoted by the NP. The function of postdeterminers as scoping elements is to specify the identifiability status of the instances of this instantial set. In McGregor's (1997: 210) terminology, they express rhetorical modification. Comparative postdeterminers elaborate on the identificational status by signalling referential relations of identity, as in (3.30), and non-identity, as in (3.31). In (3.30) the postdeterminer *same* conveys that the instances denoted by the NP, the diagrams, are found in both the speaker's geography book and in his science book. *Other* in (3.31) identifies the instances of 'friends' referred to as not Ramsay's brother or girlfriend, but additional instances of the type. The quantifier has scope over the instantial set that has been further identified in this way and counts how many instances are involved. Applied to example (3.31), this means that the entire NP *two other friends* can be paraphrased as 'there are different, new instances of the type 'friends' and these number 'two''.

In the opposite pattern, postdeterminer preceding quantifier, e.g. (3.32–3.33), it is the postdeterminer that has the widest scope and the quantifier is included in its scoping domain.

- (3.32) NURSES and midwives working in the NHS have plummeted by 33,900 in the last three years – a loss of one in 11. Those employed by private hospitals, homes and clinics increased by 33,088 in **the same three years**, from March 1991 to March 1994. (CB)
- (3.33) Send no money. We'll bill you later for six months at the rate shown under the gold foil on your order card – and add **another six months** free. (CB)

As a result, the postdeterminer does not have scope over an ordinary instantial set as in examples (3.30) and (3.31), but over a **quantified instantial set** (Langacker 1991: 158) such as *three years* in (3.32).¹² It hence construes relations of identity or non-identity with respect to this quantified set. In (3.32), for example, the postdeterminer *same* sets up a phoric relation of identity between the quantified set 'three years' denoted by the NP and the set of three years mentioned earlier in the discourse, *the last three years*, and signals that they are in fact the same set.¹³ The adjective *other* in (3.33) establishes a similar relation of non-identity. It sets up an anaphoric relation to the previously mentioned set of 'months', the NP *six*

12. As was explained in Chapter 1 (Section 1.1.4), according to Langacker (1991: 158–159) a noun as such denotes a type specification only, whereas a noun in a NP, because it is specified for number, denotes an 'instantial set'. This instantial set can be modified by attributes and prepositional phrases. The addition of a quantifier results in a 'quantified instantial set'. Langacker remarks that such a quantified instantial set can no longer be modified by attributes or prepositional phrases. Neither the ordinary instantial set nor the quantified instantial set can however occur as a full nominal; they both need to be supplemented by a grounding element to make the instantial set accessible to speaker and hearer as a discourse referent.

13. It has to be remarked that for the combination *the same* + quantifier, the data are not all consistent with this analysis. Due to the strong association of the definite article and *same*, the combination *the same* + quantifier often expresses the first meaning, i.e. the postdeterminer as part of the scoping domain of the quantifier, which is typically associated with the opposite order quantifier + *same*. Take (i), for example.

(i) To have stood any chance of overhauling the points total of Senna to win the crown, Prost had to beat Senna in both this race and the final Grand Prix at Adelaide. The two have had an acrimonious relationship – although they shook hands and apparently made up at Monza in Italy last month. Ironically, a crash between **the same two drivers** at Suzuka last year gave Prost the 1989 championship, after Senna was disqualified. (CB)

months, and conveys that the NP refers to a different set of 'months' of the same size. Put differently, *another* indicates that a new set of six months is added to the original set. So, in the previous paragraphs I have not only shown that the two alternative orders, postdeterminer + quantifier and quantifier + postdeterminer, are possible, but that their side by side existence is sanctioned by their different semantics.

As indicated above, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 80) recognize that both patterns can occur, but claim that one pattern, postdeterminer + quantifier, is clearly unmarked in comparison with the other. However, both the quantitative findings presented by Breban (2005) and the semantics of the two constructions themselves make it clear that the situation is exactly the opposite. In Breban (2005), firstly, I compared the general frequencies of the sequences 'quantifier + postdeterminer *other*' and 'postdeterminer *other* + quantifier' in the COBUILD corpus and found that the first pattern is in fact more frequent: there were 4,181 examples of the former pattern and only 2,983 of the latter in the COBUILD corpus. Secondly, the order quantifier + postdeterminer is also semantically the unmarked one. This pattern invokes relations of identity and non-identity pertaining to the instantial set as represented by the head noun and modifiers. This type of relation is semantically similar to that established by comparative postdeterminers in ordinary NPs, which are also relations between instances. By contrast, the relation established by a comparative postdeterminer that precedes the quantifier is not concerned with the instances making up the instantial set, but with the quantified instantial set and another quantity in the discourse. The postdeterminer then construes phoric relations between these quantified sets of instances. In general, it can therefore be concluded that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) positional criterion for comparative postdeterminers only applies to a relatively less frequent, semantically more specific pattern.

At face value, the quantifier *two* is in the NP *the same two drivers* included in the scoping domain of *same*, i.e. the scoped unit is the quantified instantial set. A semantic paraphrase of the NP would hence be 'the same set of drivers'. But what the speaker is in fact saying is that the two drivers in question are the same instances of drivers, Prost and Senna. Thus, the semantics of the pattern quantifier + postdeterminer are here conveyed by the opposite pattern. This discrepancy can be attributed to the close functional association between *the* and *same*, which as noted in the OED (Vol. 9: 74) are felt to be a single functional unit (see also Chapter 7, Section 7.1).

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) analysis of English adjectives of comparison contains good insights but also analytical mistakes. In general their description can be said to suffer from a lack of confrontation with extended data sets. Concretely, I have shown that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) claim that there is one main form-meaning association dividing the uses of comparative adjectives in the NP, attributes expressing NP-internal comparison versus postdeterminers expressing comparison with a separately coded entity, is untenable.

Instead, I proposed a new generalization. The two types of construal of the comparative relation, NP-internal versus external construal, cross-classify with the functions of attribute and postdeterminer. All attribute uses of adjectives of comparison, irrespective of their construal, express 'likeness' and are formally distinguishable by the fact that they can be graded by submodifiers and have a semantically equivalent predicative alternate. Postdeterminers, by contrast, always aid the identification of the referent(s) denoted by the NP by conveying relations of identity and non-identity. These can either take the form of phoric relations between the designated entity and a separately coded entity or of NP-internal relations clarifying the make-up of the instantial set. In a second step, I argued that the former, phoric type of postdeterminer use has a counterpart in a semantically comparable classifier use. This phoric classifier use establishes similar relations of identity and non-identity between subtypes in the discourse.

Finally, the positional criterion that Halliday and Hasan (1976) proposed as a recognition criterion of postdeterminer and attribute uses of adjectives of comparison has been modified and restricted on the basis of data analysis as well. Although a comparative adjective occurring in front of a quantifier can receive only a postdeterminer reading, the position following the quantifier can be occupied by postdeterminers as well as attributes.

4. The grammaticalization hypothesis

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I proposed that the prenominal uses expressed by the adjectives of comparison cover four functions in the English NP: attribute, postdeterminer, classifier and quantifier. I will briefly summarize their main semantic and formal properties.

The **attribute** use, illustrated in (4.1), presents the typical formal features of attributehood: it is gradable (4.1)bis a and has a predicative alternate (4.1)bis b.

(4.1) I am glad that I have seen Venice in winter, when it is **a different city** from in summer. I felt I was seeing the real Venetians, the year-round inhabitants who are squashed to near invisibility by tourists, the fair-weather friends of Venice, in summer months. Venice is darkish, cold, damp and serious at six in the morning in December. (CB)

(4.1) bis a I am glad that I have seen Venice in winter, when it is **a very different city** from in summer

(4.1) bis b I am glad that I have seen Venice in winter, when **the city is different** from in summer

Its semantic value is to ascribe a ‘degree of likeness’ to the entities being compared. In (4.1), attribute *different* expresses that Venice in winter has very little in common with the city in summer. The three other prenominal uses of adjectives of comparison are formally distinct from the attribute use in that they do not have the same alternation patterns; none of them are gradable or have predicative alternates.

Semantically, the **postdeterminer** use, e.g. (4.2) to (4.5), gives additional referential information by construing relations of identity (4.2–4.3) or non-identity (4.4–4.5) between discourse referents.

(4.2) “We can get **the same person** in here three or four times with gunshot or knife wounds,” Rodriguez said. “It’s hard not to feel as if you’re treating them so they can live, only to be brought in again next week.” (CB)

- (4.3) He said the outpatients' service, which operated two mornings a week, had closed because **the same service** could be provided by gps. (CB)
- (4.4) The eight houses have been constructed by **different builders** on the estate which is being developed by Transtate Limited. (CB)
- (4.5) Kojima's story is just the latest case of what Japanese call "price destruction discounting" that has rolled through one seemingly protected market after another, from toys, personal computers and beer to apples, televisions and audio equipment. Economists use **a different word**: deflation. (CB)

These relations can be set up NP-internally as in (4.2) and (4.4) or externally as in (4.3) and (4.5). In the former case the postdeterminer further clarifies the make-up of the instantial set: it indicates whether the set consists of different individual instances, e.g. (4.4), or a single one, e.g. (4.2). When the relations are external, the postdeterminer construes a phoric relation of identity between the instance denoted by the NP and another instance that is present in the discourse context, e.g. (4.3), or one of non-identity, as in (4.5), in which the term that economists use is not the same one as that which the Japanese use.

The semantics of the **classifier** use are very similar to those of the phoric postdeterminer use. Classifiers also convey phoric relations of identity (4.6) and non-identity (4.7) but between subtypes rather than instances. In other words, they use phoric relations to identify subtypes.

- (4.6) A TV advert shows a group of racially-mixed children playing together while **a similar group of adults** scream abuse at each other. (CB)
- (4.7) Thai businessmen should invest in Vietnam now, the minister told journalists, before **other investors** take advantage of existing opportunities. (CB)

In (4.6), *similar* indicates that the same subtype talked about earlier in the discourse, 'racially-mixed', has to be derived from the general type 'adults'. In (4.7), by contrast, *other* establishes a phoric relation of non-identity with the previously mentioned subtype 'Thai' and restricts the type specification to non-Thai investors.

In the previous chapter I also introduced a last function that is restricted to one subset of adjectives of comparison, adjectives of dif-

ference such as *several*, *various*, *different*, and *divers*, that of **quantifier**, e.g. (4.8).

- (4.8) “Prime has close links with Sunshine as a fellow affiliate of the Seven Network and has had **various discussions** with Sunshine and its major shareholders over a long period,” he said. (CB)

As quantifiers, these adjectives denote that the instantial set consists of an undetermined number of instances.

The most important conclusion of this new description of prenominal adjectives of comparison is that it gives rise to a semantic generalization that accords with the formal opposition between attributes on the one hand and postdeterminers, classifiers on the other. While attributes are concerned with the description of likeness, the two other functions deal with identification, of instances and subtypes.

In this chapter, I will argue that the presence of these two types of meanings in Present-day English can be explained as the result of a grammaticalization process affecting adjectives of comparison in the NP. The central grammaticalization claim that I will defend is that the referential postdeterminer meaning of identity/non-identity between instances is the result of a shift from the attribute meaning of descriptive likeness. More specifically, I will argue that this hypothesized development from attribute to postdeterminer meaning instantiates one of the three general paths of grammaticalization distinguished by Traugott (1982, 1989, 1995), the development from descriptive to textual meaning. In Section 4.2, I will develop this central claim concerning the attribute and postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison. In the next two sections, Sections 4.3 and 4.4, I will adduce evidence showing that the Present-day uses of adjectives of comparison show the reflexes of this grammaticalization process. My argumentation will be based on the findings of the synchronic corpus analysis of six core adjectives of comparison, *other*, *different*, *same*, *identical*, *similar*, and *comparable*, which will be discussed in detail in Part II. Section 4.3 will focus on the formal reflexes of grammaticalization observable in synchronic corpus data and Section 4.4 will provide a closer analysis of the semantic processes that appear to have been involved. In Section 4.4, I will sketch the different stages that can be hypothesized to make up the actual grammaticalization process on the basis of a case study of the adjectives of difference. Here I will develop my second claim that in a later stage the grammaticalized postdeterminer use gave rise to the development of other types of referential uses, more specifically, the quantifier and the classifier uses.

4.2. General semantic characterization of the hypothesized grammaticalization process

The core of the grammaticalization claim that I presented in the previous section is that the attribute and the postdeterminer uses have descriptive versus textual meanings, which fit in with one of Traugott's (1982, 1989, 1995) general paths of semantic change. As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.1), Traugott (1982) originally viewed semantic change as a cline involving three types of meaning:

propositional > (textual >) expressive (Traugott 1982: 257)

Traugott (1982) argued that processes of grammaticalization, as one particular type of semantic change, typically followed the unidirectional path set out in this cline. In Traugott (1989), the cline was split up into three separate tendencies formulated as

Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation

Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation

Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition (Traugott 1989: 34–35)

My claim regarding the adjectives of comparison is that they underwent and are going through a process that follows the second tendency, i.e. the development from descriptive attribute meanings to textual postdeterminer meanings.

The attribute use of adjectives of comparison ascribes a degree of likeness to the entities being compared as in (4.1) reproduced here as (4.9).¹

(4.9) I am glad that I have seen Venice in winter, when it is **a different city** from in summer. (CB)

1. It has to be noted that there are also adjectives of comparison such as *next* and *further* whose postdeterminer use cannot be hypothesized to derive from a gradable 'qualitative' adjective use but from other prior lexical uses such as an adverb use.

This is a descriptive meaning: the adjective simply describes how similar two entities are in the world. In (4.9), for example, the attribute *different* conveys that in our experience of the world Venice in winter is not at all like Venice in summer.

The postdeterminer use does not partake in the descriptive function of language, but fulfils a textual function instead, as illustrated by examples (4.4) and (4.5) (here 4.10 and 4.11) which contrast the internal and the external postdeterminer use.

- (4.10) The eight houses have been constructed by **different builders** on the estate which is being developed by Transtate Limited. (CB)
- (4.11) Kojima's story is just the latest case of what Japanese call "price destruction discounting" that has rolled through one seemingly protected market after another, from toys, personal computers and beer to apples, televisions and audio equipment. Economists use **a different word**: deflation. (CB)

In (4.10), postdeterminer *different* clarifies the internal make-up of the instantial set 'builders' by indicating that it is a plural set denoting individual builders which distributively interact with the eight houses denoted by a preceding NP. In (4.11), *different* sets up an external phoric relation to indicate that another instance of 'word' is referred to. In neither of these examples does the adjective have a descriptive value; it does not represent a feature of the referent-entity in the world. Rather, the adjective is in both examples used to specify some aspect of the entity as a discourse referent.

So, whereas the attribute meaning is clearly descriptive or representational, the postdeterminer meaning is essentially textual. Consequently, the attribute and postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison seem a good candidate for an interpretation in terms of grammaticalization. They fit in nicely with the type of grammaticalization described by Traugott (1995) as "the tendency to recruit lexical (propositional) material for purposes of creating text" (Traugott 1995: 47). When it is accepted that the attribute and the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison are related by grammaticalization, their simultaneous presence in Present-day English can be explained as "layering" (Hopper 1991: 22), i.e. the presence of both the original and the grammaticalized meaning of an element in the same synchronic phase of a language. The purpose of the next sections is to present formal as well as semantic synchronic evidence for the claim that adjectives of comparison are the result of a process of grammaticalization.

4.3. Formal evidence for the grammaticalization hypothesis

Having suggested that the postdeterminer meaning of adjectives of comparison could be the result of a grammaticalization process, I will first offer formal synchronic evidence for this claim. I will show that current postdeterminer uses have several formal reflexes that have been associated with grammaticalization in the literature such as coalescence, paradigmaticization and decategorialization.

The first two processes, coalescence and paradigmaticization, are two of Lehmann's (1995 [1982], 1985) parameters of grammaticalization. Even though some of the parameters distinguished by Lehmann such as restriction of scope or 'condensation' (Lehmann 1985: 308, 1995: 143) have been questioned and denied generality (see Nordlinger and Traugott 1997; Tabor and Traugott 1998),² other processes such as 'attrition', 'paradigmaticization', and 'coalescence' (Lehmann 1985: 308, 1995: 121f) are widely accepted to be indicative of grammaticalization. As I will show in Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, coalescence and paradigmaticization are manifested in the referential uses of specific adjectives of comparison, that is, by *same* and *other*, and *several* respectively. The third process, decategorialization, applies to the referential uses of all adjectives and is as such the main formal argument supporting the grammaticalization claim (Section 4.3.3).

In addition to these established formal reflexes of grammaticalization, I will propose in Section 4.3.4 that the development from attribute to post-determiner use of adjectives of comparison also evinces a type of formal change that has not been associated with grammaticalization so far, a change in syntagmatic relation from a head-modifier to a scoping relation. I will first discuss how this type of formal change can be observed in the differential behaviour of attributes and postdeterminers. In a second step, I will investigate how this formal change relates to Traugott's (1982) characterization of grammaticalization as well as to other syntagmatic

2. The notion of scope that is used in the grammaticalization literature is fundamentally different from McGregor's (1997) notion of scope, which was introduced in Chapter 1 to characterize the combinatorics of the determiner function. In grammaticalization theory, scope is seen as one of the (changeable) characteristics of a linguistic item. McGregor (1997), by contrast, defines scope as a specific non-compositional structural relation between elements of a syntagm. Although some examples discussed in the grammaticalization literature are involved in a scoping relation in the latter sense, others are not.

processes of change that have been associated with grammaticalization such as reanalysis.

4.3.1. Coalescence of *another* and *the same*

The term ‘coalescence’ is used here as it has been defined by Lehmann (1985: 308, 1995: 148, 2002: 13), i.e. as referring to morphological and phonological ‘bonding’ (Bybee 1985) or fusion in general. Other linguists such as Heine and Reh (1984: 25) and Brinton and Traugott (2005: 27) use the term in a more specific way to refer to loss of phonological segmentation only. Coalescence or “increase in bondedness” characterizes two adjectives of comparison, *same* and *other*. The grammaticalized status of their postdeterminer uses is formally reflected in their bonding with the primary determiners *the* and *a* respectively.

In the case of *other*, the coalescence with the indefinite determiner is reflected in the one-word spelling of *another*, e.g. (4.12).

- (4.12) Francis James Carter, 39, pleaded guilty to two charges of assault causing bodily harm while an inmate of Sir David Longlands Correctional Centre in April last year. It was alleged he struck one prison officer with a pipe and hit **another** officer on the head with his fist. (CB)

According to the OED (Vol. 7: 229), *another* has been standardly written as one word since about 1600, but the one-word spelling was used in earlier data as well. The first example of the single word form cited in the OED dates back to 1225, e.g. (4.13).

- (4.13) c 1225 *St. Margarete* (1866) 74 He was al out of rede As he wer in **anoþer** wordle. (OED vol. 1: 348)
‘He was completely out of reason As if he were in another world.’

In several standard reference works (e.g. Bache 2000: 170; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 391f), *another* is actually treated as one determiner on a par with the indefinite and definite article.

For *same*, the coalescence process with the definite article has not led to the actual fusion of determiner and postdeterminer. However, as the OED (Vol. 9: 74) remarks, “the prefixed article is functionally part of the word” (OED Vol. 9: 74), even though it is not orthographically bound to the definite article. The fixed combination *the same* can hence also be viewed as a single functional unit. In this context, it can be remarked that the Dutch counterpart of *same*, *zelfde*, does orthographically reflect coales-

cence with the primary determiner, resulting in the determiner units *eenzelfde* ('a same'), *dezelfde* and *hetzelfde* ('the same') (Breban 2002/2003). In addition, Van Peteghem (1997c: 73) notes that the French equivalent of *same*, *même*, also functionally forms a single (complex) determiner, i.e. a "déterminant complexe" (Van Peteghem 1997c: 73), together with the primary identifier.³

4.3.2. Paradigmaticization of *several*

Lehmann's (1985: 309, 1995: 135f) parameter paradigmaticization captures the fact that grammaticalized elements are typically part of "small, highly integrated paradigms" (Lehmann 1985: 309). For the adjectives of comparison, this feature is clearly present in the secondary process of grammaticalization from postdeterminer to quantifier.

I claim that the quantifier use of the adjectives of difference illustrated in example (4.8) (here 4.14) is the result of a "secondary grammaticalization process", i.e. a grammaticalization process whose input is a grammatical meaning rather than a lexical one (Traugott 2010: 40–41)⁴, involving their grammaticalized postdeterminer use illustrated in (4.4) (here 4.15).

3. There is some further synchronic evidence that *the same* is indeed felt to be one unit: by means of a Google search I found a few examples such as (i) in which a quantifier is placed before the definite article rather than in between the definite article and *same* probably to avoid disrupting the unit of the article and *same*.

(i) All the matter we normally see is made of up and down quarks. Protons and neutrons, however consist of three quarks – and the Pauli exclusion principle says that no two identical particles can exist at the same position. [Actually, this is only for fermions, e.g., quarks, electrons, protons, etc – it doesn't apply to photons (light).] So I can't put two ups and a down together, or two downs and an up, or indeed **three the same** – so there must be another distinguishing feature. (<http://www.illumi-natingscience.org/?p=68>, website affiliated with the Physics department of the University of Queensland)

4. The term 'secondary grammaticalization' was introduced by Givón (1991) for reanalyses of markers of one morphosyntactic category into another one, e.g. of aspect markers into tense morphemes or of the reflexive into the passive. The definition that I adhere to is Traugott's semantically oriented, broader definition of secondary grammaticalization as a change from one grammatical meaning to another more grammatical meaning (Traugott 2010, also Hopper and Traugott 2003, Brinton and Traugott 2005).

(4.14) “Prime has close links with Sunshine as a fellow affiliate of the Seven Network and has had **various discussions** with Sunshine and its major shareholders over a long period,” he said. (CB)

(4.15) The eight houses have been constructed by **different builders** on the estate which is being developed by Transtate Limited. (CB)

As I will more elaborately discuss in Section 4.4, the central idea is that the quantifier use has developed on the basis of a semantic shift from the internal postdeterminer use of adjectives of difference. The meaning of the adjectives is hypothesized to shift from the conceptualization of the instantial set as a plural set consisting of individual instances, as in (4.15), to the actual **counting** of these instances in examples such as (4.14). In such examples, the adjective functions as absolute quantifier specifying the magnitude of the instantial set.

For one adjective in particular, *several*, the quantifier use is the most common one in current English (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.2), e.g. (4.16).

(4.16) A plague of bluebottles kept people out of the water on Gold Coast beaches yesterday, despite the heat. The stingers disrupted a huge boat carnival at North Kirra Beach. Many contestants and **several swimmers** needed treatment. (CB)

Several displays paradigmaticization, or a considerable degree of inclusion in the quantifier paradigm. In the literature, *several* is considered a true quantifier on a par with other absolute quantifiers such as *many*, *few* and the cardinal numbers and is hence included in the ‘quantifier category’ rather than the ‘adjective category’ (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 262). Furthermore, in contrast with other adjectives of difference, *several* has a number of special quantifier uses. Firstly, in examples such as (4.17), *several* functions as part of the quantifier unit *several thousand*, similar to established quantifier units such as *three thousand*, *five million*, etc.

(4.17) **Several thousand Romanians** have taken part in an anti-government rally in the city of Timisoara. (CB)

Secondly, *several* can also be used as a relative quantifier, specifying the size of the instantiation in relation to a reference mass consisting of all the instances of the type that are given in the discourse, as in (4.18).

(4.18) This exclusive adventure covers **several of India’s most fascinating areas**: the tribal region of Orissa, the great temple towns on the Bay of Bengal, Darjeeling and the mountain capital of Buddhist Sikkim. (CB)

As observed by Milsark (1977), all absolute quantifiers can be used relatively, e.g. *many of India's most fascinating areas*, *three of India's most fascinating areas*. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 538–540), and Denison (2006: 292–296, 2010: 114) take the occurrence of relative uses of the form ‘quantifier + *of*-phrase’, which they call the “fused-head construction”, as a criterion for the quantifier status of an element. As the possibility of these special uses illustrates, *several* behaves as a typical quantifier and has been admitted into the quantifier paradigm.

4.3.3. Decategorialization

In this section, I will argue that the postdeterminer (and quantifier) use in general shows another formal characteristic strongly associated with grammaticalization, decategorialization. The concept of decategorialization that I invoke should not be equated with category shift (although such a shift can be the eventual result of the process). Whereas the latter involves the re-interpretation of the grammaticalizing element as belonging to a different category, decategorialization as used here is a gradual shedding of certain properties associated with the original category to which the element belonged. I use the term ‘gradual’ with the meaning “step-by-step”. It is this step-by-step shedding of different category-specific properties that is responsible for the gradience between categories (see Aarts 2007; Denison 2001, 2006; Trousdale and Traugott 2010) that is essential to the grammaticalization claim made here. Brinton and Traugott (2005: 26–27) distinguish two types of gradualness in grammaticalization: gradualness of the change itself, as discussed here, and gradualness of the spread of the changed interpretation to more and more contexts, i.e. increase in ‘type frequency’ (Bybee 2003) or ‘host-class expansion’ (Himmelmann 2004). I will comment on the latter type of gradualness, which cannot be observed synchronically, in Chapters 10 and 11 which investigate the development of adjectives of comparison from a diachronic perspective.

In this section, I will situate this interpretation of decategorialization vis-à-vis the various discussions in the (grammaticalization) literature, taking those of Lehmann (2005) (Section 4.3.3.1), Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]) (Section 4.3.3.2), Croft (2001) (Section 4.3.3.3), and Denison (2006) (Section 4.3.3.4) as reference points. In the course of the discussion, I will specify what decategorialization precisely entails for the attribute versus postdeterminer and quantifier uses of the adjectives of comparison.

4.3.3.1. *Lehmann's (2005) definition of decategorialization*

In the literature, the usual interpretation of decategorialization as restricted to category shift was reacted against by a number of linguists such as Lehmann (2005), who uses the term “recategorialization” (Lehmann 2005: 167) to refer to the process.⁵ For Lehmann (2005: 165–168) recategorialization is still a type of category change, but not in the regular sense of an element belonging to one category coming to be used in a syntactic or morphological context associated with a different category. Recategorialization differs from this type of “category conversion” (Lehmann 2005: 165) in two respects. Firstly, it happens “*in situ*” (Lehmann 2005: 166): the grammaticalizing element is not inserted in an alien context, rather its own context is reinterpreted. Secondly, this type of category change can also take place within one traditional category, whereby the element changes from the lexical to the grammatical “subclass” of this category (Lehmann 2005: 167). Lehmann (2005: 167) only specifies that these lexical and grammatical subclasses are not divided by a sharp boundary, but does not further elucidate how the two subclasses should be envisaged.

4.3.3.2. *Decategorialization and prototypicality*

The way I understand decategorialization takes Lehmann's (2005) criticism one step further. Similar to Lehmann's (2005) analysis, it is assumed that decategorialization does not necessarily involve a shift from one category to another. But rather than having recourse to the ad hoc subclassification of categories into a lexical and a grammatical subclass, the established cognitive approach to categories in terms of prototypicality (amongst others Ross 1972; Rosch 1978; Taylor 1997 [1989])⁶ is invoked here in the wake of analyses proposed by Denison (2001, 2006), Hopper and Traugott (2003: 106f), Brinton and Traugott (2005: especially 15–16).⁷

5. Lehmann (2005: 167) points out that Ramat (2001) refers to a similar process as ‘transcategorization’.

6. See Aarts et al. (2004) for a collection of papers focusing on prototypicality and grammatical categories.

7. Aarts (2007) distinguishes between intercategory or “intersective” gradience and intracategory or “subsecutive” gradience. He argues that in the case of intersective gradience the element shows properties of both the intersecting categories; the categories themselves remain clearly distinguishable. I agree with Denison (2006) who adds that subsecutive gradience by definition implies intersective gradience.

Prototypicality as it will be used here pertains to the fact that some linguistic elements show more typical behaviour or more formal properties typically associated with a certain linguistic category than others. Following Hopper and Traugott (2003: 106f), decategorialization can then be described as “the tendency for relatively prototypical members of Noun, Verb, and Adjective categories to become less prototypical in their distribution” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 106). They further specify that the process involves loss of the morphological and syntactic properties of the category that the elements belong to as a result of their “functional shift from one kind of role to another in the organization of discourse” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 108). Decategorialization defined in this way is hence typically a gradual or step-by-step process. This aspect of decategorialization is drawn to the fore by Denison (2006), who uses the characterization “graduated change” (Denison 2006: 299).⁸

The definition of decategorialization proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]) and Brinton and Traugott (2005), is in one respect fundamentally different from the definition proposed here. Their aim is to detect when grammaticalization **has taken place** and with this idea in mind they emphasize that decategorialization necessarily results in category shift. The point of view I take here is of grammaticalization as a dynamic process, which is still going on and which can but does not necessarily result in the completion of the process. However, for the purposes of the following discussion of the role of prototypicality this is no obstacle. That is to say, the change from attribute to postdeterminer does not entail category shift in the mainstream sense: both the attribute and postdeterminer use are as such different **uses** of the adjective. It is only when an adjective of comparison such as *several* comes to acquire the function of quantifier as its main function that the adjective is recognized to have undergone a shift of category, that is, from adjective to quantifier. None of the other adjectives of comparison, however, manifest a similar shift. Nevertheless, the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison clearly display the loss of morphological and syntactic properties associated with attributes. As discussed in Chapter 3, the crucial formal difference between attributes and postdeterminers is that the latter do not show the formal features asso-

8. Heine (1992) proposes a somewhat similar gradual perspective on grammaticalization, but he places semantic and formal changes on the same level as separate steps in a single evolution. The main contrast with the present analysis pertains to the fact that in Heine's (1992) terminology the notion category refers to the chain of consecutive semantically and formally changed stages.

ciated with attributehood, gradability and predicative alternation. In the terminology of amongst others Crystal (1967), Coates (1971) and Quirk et al. (1972), postdeterminers are peripheral rather than central adjectives. The choice of these terms reflects that the attribute uses are in fact the prototypical adjectives and that being gradable and having a predicative alternate are the formal properties setting apart the prototypical members of the category 'adjective'. Postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison, which do not have these formal properties, are consequently less prototypical members of the adjective category.

4.3.3.3. *Decategorialization and constructions*

In the previous section, I commented on the relation between decategorialization and the cognitive perception towards linguistics categories in terms of prototypicality. In addition, functional and cognitive approaches go against another aspect of the traditional conception of linguistic categories. Categories are no longer seen as linguistic primitives (Croft 2000: 47–48). Instead, they are considered to be derived from functional roles (e.g. Halliday 1961), discourse roles (e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1984),⁹ or occurrence in certain constructions (e.g. Croft 2000, 2001).¹⁰

In my attempt to get a hold on the formal aspect of categories, I particularly subscribe to Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar claim that constructions rather than categories are the primitives of syntactic representation and that categories in effect derive from constructions (Croft 2001: 45–47). In this light, decategorialization amounts to a type of 'constructional gradience' (Denison 2006: 296; see also Fried 2008) whereby the grammaticalizing element gradually loses the ability to occur in certain constructions that are typically associated with the element's original function. Applied to adjectives of comparison, such a change in

9. Hopper (1991: 30–31) discusses decategorialization in grammaticalization as the loss of discourse autonomy.

10. In recent years, a very fruitful and promising line of research in grammaticalization studies has been devoted to the development of a construction based interpretation of grammaticalization processes, see amongst others Denison 2002; Noël 2007; Brems 2007a; Fried 2008; Traugott 2008a, 2008b, 2010; Trousdale 2008). In the following discussion, I will not attempt to formulate an actual account of the grammaticalization process studied here in terms of constructional changes and inheritance relations. I will restrict myself to the application of the notion constructional gradience (Denison 2006).

constructional possibilities can for example be observed in the inability of their postdeterminer uses to occur in the predicative construction.

4.3.3.4. *A positive approach to decategorialization*

The approach to decategorialization in terms of changing constructions opens up a positive perspective on the process: decategorialization can not only be observed in the inability to occur in certain constructions, but also in the ability to occur in new constructions. The postdeterminer uses of the adjectives of comparison for example can, in contrast to their attribute uses, be part of complex determiner constructions such as *another* and *the same*.

Denison's (2006) discussion of decategorialization as graduated change takes the same positive view from the perspective of prototypicality (see Section 4.3.3.2). He defines graduated change as the stepwise acquisition of properties associated with a certain category.¹¹ Decategorialization thus not only involves the loss of certain formal properties, but also the gain of new properties. This type of loss and gain in formal possibilities is particularly apparent in the typical positions that attribute and postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison take up in the English NP. As observed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.5), attributes are located in the central quality-attribution zone of the NP. Postdeterminers, by contrast, are included in the determination zone at the left end of the NP. In Chapter 3 (Section 3.5), it was pointed out that these different positions of attributes and postdeterminers become apparent in their possible location vis-à-vis quantifiers. Whereas attributes can only follow the quantifier, postdeterminers can occupy the position in front of the quantifier as well as the position behind it. The postdeterminer use of adjectives of comparison can thus be said to have "gained" the possibility to occupy a position more to the left as part of the determination zone, which is very obvious in actual language data in its occurrence in front of a quantifier in the NP. Denison (2006) makes a similar observation with regard to *various* and *certain*, which are "still adjectives", but fill positions closer to the determiner at "the left-hand edge of the adjective sequence" (Denison 2006: 300).

11. It has to be remarked that Denison (2006) looks at change from a diachronic perspective, but his conclusion can be extended to the synchronic argumentation presented here (see also Denison 2001).

In conclusion to this section, it can be noted that this positive approach to decategorialization including the gain of formal properties as well as their loss, is the formal counterpart of the discussion about the (in)sufficiency of the concept of ‘bleaching’, loss of lexical semantic content, to capture the semantic changes involved in grammaticalization (amongst others Sweetser 1988, 1990; Traugott 1988; Heine et al. 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]). This discussion draws attention to the fact that besides semantic loss, grammaticalization also results in semantic gain, more specifically, in the acquisition of new but grammatical meanings and functions. As proposed by De Mulder (2001), processes of semantic gain can be looked at in terms of semantic prototypicality, i.e. the loss and gain of semantic features.

4.3.4. Attribute and postdeterminer uses: a shift in syntagmatic relation?

4.3.4.1. *Syntagmatic change in grammaticalization*

In grammaticalization studies the question whether grammaticalization can be restricted to semantico-pragmatic change only, or whether it necessarily involves a corresponding formal, syntagmatic change has resurfaced at regular times. One of the more fiercely debated issues in this respect (which was raised by Heine and Reh 1984) is the question whether one specific type of syntagmatic change, reanalysis, is necessarily present in grammaticalization. Until recently, reanalysis was assumed to be involved in (nearly) all grammaticalization processes (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]; Heine et al. 1991), but more recent contributions have argued that the two can go together but do not have to (amongst others Haspelmath 1998; Lehmann 2002, 2005; Fanego 2004).¹²

The issue is however much more complex when one takes into consideration that the linguists engaging in the debate do not include the same processes under the general heading of reanalysis. Traditionally, reanalysis subsumes two main processes, category shift and rebracketing (e.g. Langacker 1977), but linguists such as Haspelmath (1998) and Lehmann (2005) have argued that only the second process is reanalysis proper. Although the issue of reanalysis as such is still out in the open, it appears to be a matter of general agreement that there is some notion of

12. Other linguists such as Roberts (1993), Harris and Campbell (1995), Campbell (2001) have taken yet a different view to the interaction of the two processes and posit that grammaticalization can in fact be reduced to reanalysis.

syntagmatic change involved in grammaticalization (e.g. Haspelmath 1998; Traugott 2010).

In Sections 4.3.1–4.3.3, I have identified several formal characteristics of adjectives of comparison that can be indicative of grammaticalization: coalescence, paradigmaticization and decategorialization. Following the categorization of Lehmann (1985, 1995 [1982]), two of them, decategorialization and paradigmaticization are paradigmatic in character, while the third one, coalescence, affects the grammaticalizing element in its syntagmatic aspect. But as this property applies to a few of the adjectives only, the extent of the role of syntagmatic change in the hypothesized grammaticalization of the adjectives of comparison is still not fully settled.

In this section, I will investigate the postdeterminer and attribute uses of adjectives of comparison from the perspective of syntagmatic change. My main claim, which I will develop in Section 4.3.4.2, is that the suggested shift from attribute to postdeterminer goes together with a type of syntagmatic shift that has not been recognized in the literature: a shift in the combinatorics from a head-modifier to a scoping relation as defined by McGregor (1997). In Section 4.3.4.3 I will provide further theoretical support for this claim by showing that this change in syntagmatic relation from a dependency to a scoping relation has a theoretical link with grammaticalization as described by Traugott (1982, 1989), in that both Traugott's and McGregor's (1997) distinctions ultimately go back to Halliday's (1994 [1985]; Halliday and Hasan 1976) analysis of the language system in three metafunctions.

4.3.4.2. *The different combinatorics of attribute to postdeterminer uses in the NP revisited*

In Chapter 1 (Section 1.3), I proposed that elements fulfilling different functions in the NP engage in different combinatorial relations within the NP as a syntagmatic structure. Using McGregor's (1997) distinction between dependency and conjugational scoping relations as a starting point, I argued that attributes engage in independent head-modifier relations with the entity denoted by the NP. That is to say, they modify this entity by attributing a quality to it. Determiners, by contrast, were shown to be involved in a scoping relation with the designated entity, that is, they do not modify the instantial set, but "apply over it" (McGregor 1997: 210) and specify its referential status in the discourse. The meaning of the scoping relation was further characterized as rhetorical modification (McGregor 1997): determiners convey how the entity can be integrated

into “the framework of knowledge, beliefs, expectations, etc. of the interactants in the speech situation” (McGregor 1997: 66). From a more general perspective, scoping relations are a type of conjugational relations (McGregor 1997: 64f). These are relations between two wholes, one of which encompasses the other. In Chapter 1, Section 1.3.3, I suggested that determiner and instantial set are wholes in the sense that they both have a nominal profile (Langacker 1991). The instantial set of course profiles the entity denoted by the NP. According to Langacker (1991: 92), determiners are grounding predications and therefore have a nominal profile as well: they profile a schematic entity and indicate how it can be identified. For example, the demonstrative determiner *this* profiles a schematic entity that can be identified on the basis of a relation of proximity in the speech situation or the discourse.

When we look at the adjectives of comparison from this point of view, we see that their attribute uses conform to the general pattern of head-modifier relations accepted in the literature. They designate a quality, more specifically, a certain degree of likeness, and ascribe it to the entity denoted by the NP. For the postdeterminer uses there is no ready-made analysis. In Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.3), I suggested that postdeterminers enter into scoping relations similar to primary determiners such as *this*. This analysis is supported by the semantic and formal characteristics of the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison. Firstly, the semantics of these postdeterminers clearly express rhetorical modification: they provide additional information about the referential status of the instantial set by establishing relations of identity and non-identity with another set or by specifying the internal make-up of the instantial set. As such they specify how the designated entity can be incorporated in the shared framework of knowledge and expectations about the referents of the NP and their relation to other discourse referents. Secondly, the crucial formal requirement for a scoping analysis is that the syntagmatic relation involves two wholes. The postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison are however not independent elements in the same way as primary determiners. Rather, they supplement the primary determiner. Therefore, I propose that primary determiner and postdeterminer function as a single determiner unit and that it is this unit that enters into a scoping relation with the instantial set. Evidence for this claim is of course the coalescence of primary determiner and postdeterminer manifested by *another* and *the same* (see Section 4.3.3.1). I will further substantiate this claim in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.4.2), where I will show that these determiner units display the semantic and formal characteristics of grounding predications as dis-

cussed by Langacker (2002a). One of these characteristics is that they have a nominal profile and can therefore engage in a scoping relation with the instantial set.

The analysis of postdeterminer uses as constituting a single determiner unit with the primary determiner not only entails that postdeterminers engage in a different combinatory relation in the NP, but also that the hypothesized shift from attribute to postdeterminer involves functional rebracketing. Whereas attributes act as independent modifiers in the NP, postdeterminers are integrated into a determiner unit.¹³ This functional shift can be represented in the following way:

[determiner + attribute + noun] \Rightarrow [[determiner + postdeterminer] + noun]

Figure 4.1. Functional rebracketing in the shift from attribute to postdeterminer

4.3.4.3. *The relation between the syntagmatic shift from dependency to scoping relations and grammaticalization*

In the previous section, I proposed that attribute and postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison are involved in different syntagmatic relations, head-modifier and scoping relations respectively. In the light of the grammaticalization hypothesis, this entails that the hypothesized development from attributes to postdeterminers that was semantically characterized as a change from descriptive to textual semantics, goes together with a structural shift from a dependency to a scoping relation. The association between these semantic and structural shifts is not coincidental: both Traugott's (1982, 1989) semantic description and McGregor's (1997) model of syntagmatic relations ultimately have the same foundation, that is, Halliday's (1994 [1985]; Halliday and Hasan 1976) multi-functional analysis of language.

According to **Halliday** (1985: 36–37), any linguistic expression realizes three metafunctions, the ideational (logical/experiential) metafunction,

13. Denison (2010: 117–118) argues that the question whether determiner and postdeterminer also constitute a syntactic unit has to be given a negative answer. As suggested by Denison and Elizabeth Closs Traugott (p.c.), a possible explanation is that there is a mismatch between function and syntax in Present-day English: the item expresses the new semantics, but still displays certain structural properties which are solely associated with its old meaning and not with the new one (see also Francis and Michaelis 2003; Traugott 2007b; Börjars 2009).

Metafunction	ideational	interpersonal	textual
Type of meaning	propositional/descriptive	expressive	textual
Syntagmatic relation	dependency	conjugational	linking

Figure 4.2. Interaction between Halliday's (1994 [1985]) metafunctions, Traugott's (1982) types of meanings in semantic change, and McGregor's (1997) syntagmatic relations

which is concerned with the expression “as a representation” (Halliday 1985: 36); the interpersonal metafunction, i.e. the expression “as an exchange” (Halliday 1985: 36); and the textual metafunction, which structures the expression “as a message” (Halliday 1985: 37). **McGregor** (1997) has connected these metafunctions with three different types of syntagmatic relations: the ideational metafunction with dependency relations, the interpersonal metafunction with conjugational relations (i.e. scoping and framing), and the textual function with linking relations. As summarized in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.1), **Traugott's** (1982, 1989) early characterization of semantic change as a unidirectional path from “propositional > ((textual) > expressive” meaning (Traugott 1982: 257) also builds on Halliday's (1994 [1985]; Halliday and Hasan 1976) three-way approach to language. Figure 4.2 summarizes the relation between Halliday's (1994 [1985]) metafunctions, Traugott's (1982) types of meanings, and McGregor's (1997) syntagmatic relations.

As Figure 4.2 shows, this juxtaposition of Traugott's (1982) and McGregor's (1997) analyses suggests that there is a connection between descriptive meaning and dependency relations. The association of the other types of meanings and syntagmatic relations is less straightforward. McGregor (1997) remarks that linking relations do not have the same status as the other two types of syntagmatic relations: “they always involve other types of meaning in addition – logical, experiential, and/or interpersonal – which characterize the nature of the link” (McGregor 1997: 311). The main syntagmatic dichotomy is hence dependency versus conjugational relations.

By bringing in the semantic subtypes of conjugational relations distinguished by McGregor (1997), the connections between Traugott's (1982) semantic types and the areas covered by McGregor's (1997) scoping relation can be established more precisely. McGregor (1997: 66) subclassifies

conjugalional relations in terms of three different types of modification (see Section 1.1.5): illocutionary modification, which deals with the illocutionary force of an utterance or “how the speaker intends it to be taken interactively” (McGregor 1997: 66); attitudinal modification, i.e. the speaker’s “subjective attitude towards what they are saying” (McGregor 1997: 66); and rhetorical modification, which is concerned with the integration of the encompassed unit in “the framework of knowledge, beliefs, expectations, etc. of the interactants in the speech situation” (McGregor 1997: 66). Attitudinal modification clearly corresponds to expressive meaning as envisaged by Traugott (1982, 1989). The other two types, illocutionary and rhetorical modification, are both interpersonal meanings in that they are concerned with speaker-hearer interaction. However, they seem to have a stronger affinity with Traugott’s textual meaning than with her notion of expressive meaning in that they pertain to the organization of the text as discourse. As a result, it appears that conjugalional relations cover interpersonal expressive meanings as well as interpersonal textual ones.¹⁴

In sum, there appears to be a theoretical association between McGregor’s (1997) dependency relations and Traugott’s (1982) descriptive meaning on the one hand and conjugalional relations and expressive and interpersonal textual meanings on the other. This provides support for the hypothesis that the shift from descriptive to interpersonal textual meanings presented by adjectives of comparison is accompanied by a structural shift from a dependency to a scoping relation. It also raises expectations that the association might be more generally applicable in cases of semantic change and grammaticalization. Some candidates for a similar analysis are the development of modals, which seem to engage in a scoping relation vis-à-vis the process denoted by the verb phrase (e.g. Lyons 1977; Bybee 1988; Nordlinger and Traugott 1997; Verstraete 2007).¹⁵ On the sentence level, the analysis appears to fit in with the analysis of discourse markers as holding the entire proposition in their scope (e.g. Swan 1988; Powel 1992;

14. This characterization leaves open the possibility that there are also non-grammaticalized, fully lexical elements with a textual meaning. The existence of this type of elements also seems to be implied by McGregor’s (1997: 311) remark that elements relating to the textual metafunction involve either additional interpersonal or experiential meaning.

15. I emphasize once more that the use of the term ‘scoping’ is different from that in Nordlinger and Traugott (1997). The relation between their analysis and a scoping interpretation as proposed here pertains to their general description of the functioning of modals.

Nordlinger and Traugott 1997; Traugott 2003b). Consequently, the claim that some types of grammaticalization entail a change in type of syntagmatic relation seems at least worthy of consideration in future research.

4.3.5. Conclusion

In this section, I discussed which formal reflexes that can be taken as evidence for the grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison can be found in contemporary English. I identified two paradigmatic reflexes: paradigmaticization of *several* in the quantifier paradigm and decategorialization of postdeterminer and quantifier uses in general. I then looked for the reflexes of syntagmatic change and concluded that postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison in general do not show any observable reanalysis in terms of formal rebracketing (with the exception of *another*) or category shift in the strict sense. That is to say, only the quantifier use has shifted category in this way. However, in the ensuing discussion, I hope to have shown that the situation is more complex. Firstly, I have argued that the postdeterminers, when compared to the attributes, evince constructional gradience and gradient category shift, as defined by Denison (2001, 2006, 2010). Secondly, I have proposed that the postdeterminers display functional rebracketing in the sense that they have lost their status as independent modifiers and have come to be part of determiner units with the primary determiner. It is precisely this functional rebracketing that is reflected in the orthographical rebracketing of *other* into *another*. Finally, I have suggested that the proposed development from attributes to postdeterminers is accompanied by a previously unrecognized type of syntagmatic change, the change in combinatorics from a dependency to a scoping relation.

4.4. Semantic evidence for the grammaticalization hypothesis

Whereas in Section 4.3, I provided formal evidence supporting my grammaticalization claim about adjectives of comparison, I will in this section further develop the semantic side of the claim. First, I will identify which more specific processes of change appear to have been involved in the grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison into postdeterminers. These processes include grammaticalization and delexicalization (Section 4.4.1), loss of semantic autonomy (Section 4.4.2), and generalization (Section 4.4.3). In Section 4.4.4, I will zoom in on the way in which the

grammaticalized postdeterminer meanings could have come into being. More specifically, I will reconstruct the different possible stages in the process of semantic change leading from attribute to postdeterminer meaning on the basis of a case study of the adjectives of difference. The discussion will not be restricted to the central grammaticalization process, i.e. the development from attributes to postdeterminers, but I will also suggest how this central process of grammaticalization extends to the development of their classifier and quantifier uses.

4.4.1. Grammaticalization and delexicalization

In the general characterization of the grammaticalization process I argued that the postdeterminer meaning of adjectives of comparison is textual in the sense that it is concerned with the organization of text referents. Postdeterminers have grammatical values establishing phoric identification or individualization of the instantial set. The attribute meaning, by contrast, describes a particular feature, more specifically, a degree of likeness. Its contribution to the NP is its lexical content. To use Traugott and Dasher's terms (2002: 23): postdeterminers have an essentially procedural meaning whereas attributes have a contentful only meaning (see Blakemore 1987). Without forestalling the detailed discussion of the six adjectives of comparison in Part II, it is necessary to remark here that this does not entail that the postdeterminer uses do not have **any** lexical content. As will become clear in Chapters 6–8, the lexical specificity of the different types of adjectives, expressing difference, identity, and similarity, “persists” (Hopper 1991: 28) in the grammatical meanings that they acquire.

The hypothesized change from attribute to postdeterminer meaning can be argued to involve the loss of lexical content, balanced out by a gain in procedural or grammatical meaning. The postdeterminer meaning hence evidences the complementary processes of delexicalization, conceived as an incomplete process that does not lead to loss of all lexical content, and grammaticalization, in the sense of the acquisition of grammatical functions.

4.4.2. Loss of semantic autonomy

Lehmann (1995 [1982], 1985) proposes to analyze grammaticalization as loss of autonomy and suggests six parameters that allow one to measure the degree of autonomy of a linguistic element: integrity, scope, paradigmaticity, bondedness, paradigmatic and syntagmatic variability. Nearly all of these features are, however, formal ones; only one parameter, integrity, also has a semantic aspect, desemanticization or loss of semantic

substance (Lehmann 1985: 306–307, 1995: 127f).¹⁶ The notion that I am referring to here as loss of semantic autonomy is a different one: it regards the fact that the meaning of the grammaticalized element is no longer interpretable outside the discourse. In other words, its semantics have become discourse-bound.

Loss of semantic autonomy defined as loss of discourse-independence is precisely one of the features that distinguish the postdeterminer meaning of adjectives of comparison from their attribute meaning. Take *different* in (4.19), for example.

- (4.19) But Jodie, who owns a magnificent mansion in LA and spends hours keeping it spotless, is discovering the best way to beat her worrying affliction. She's living in **a different house**. She just pops back to her main home "to look around". So for all its faults, the Hollywood lifestyle obviously equips you to handle this particular psychological problem. (CB)

In this example, *different* clearly functions as a phoric postdeterminer: it expresses that the house that Jodie actually lives in is not the mansion in LA that was talked about earlier. The meaning of *different* can hence be glossed as 'this referent is not the antecedent referent'. By consequence, outside **this** specific text with **this** specific antecedent, *different* cannot express the same relation. Its interpretation is dependent on and part of the organization of the referents within the text. The attribute use of *different*, by contrast, does not need the text to make sense, e.g. (4.20).

- (4.20) "It is not that Paul's heart burns less warmly," Novak went on, "it is only that his style, abilities and habits have made him **a very different man** from John".

In (4.20) attribute *different* describes that Paul is in many respects unlike John. In contrast to the postdeterminer relation between the house and its antecedent in (4.19), the relation of unlikeness between the two men also exists outside the text. In fact, it only pertains to one particular referent in the world, John, independent of the text in which it is used. It is a relation between the two individuals and not between the two discourse referents.

16. This 'simplistic' view of the semantics of grammaticalization also referred to as bleaching has been criticized by amongst others Sweetser (1988, 1990), Traugott (1988), Heine et al. (1991), Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]: 94–98) (see Section 4.3.3.4).

4.4.3. Generalization

Looked at from the opposite direction, the loss of discourse-independence, entails that the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison are also more abstract or more general in the sense of Bybee (1985, 2003), i.e. they are not dependent on the specific entity that is denoted by the NP. They are part of the discourse and not of the outside world. Or in more detail: when an adjective of comparison functions as attribute as in *a very different man* in (4.20), it ascribes the quality of unlikeness to the designated entity. It is the actual person Paul who can be characterized as very different from John. When the adjective signals referential (non-)identity, by contrast, as *different* does in *a different house* (4.19), the phoric relation has nothing to do with the specific house in question, but only with its role as a discourse participant in this particular stretch of text. *Different* clarifies that the instance of house that the speaker wants to talk about is not the previously mentioned house. The postdeterminer meaning is consequently independent from the actual entity referred to.

As a result, postdeterminers are detached from the representational specifics of the context they occur in and can be used in any context irrespective of its descriptive specifications. Often, the generalization of grammaticalized items can be observed in (synchronic) corpus material in the form of a broader collocational range, which has been referred to as a difference in “type-frequency” (Bybee 1985 and especially 2003: 604).¹⁷ In the case of adjectives of comparison, however, the attribute meaning of likeness is already a rather general meaning, which can occur in many different lexical contexts. Consequently, the data discussed in Part II do not show any significant differences in the semantic range of NP heads that combine with attribute or postdeterminer uses of the adjectives.

4.4.4. A possible reconstruction of the grammaticalization process from fully lexical attribute to grammaticalized postdeterminer, classifier and quantifier uses

In this section, I will investigate which specific processes of semantic change may have caused a development from attribute to postdeterminer

17. Himmelmann’s (2004) related concept of ‘host-class expansion’ measures this type of contextual broadening in terms of other types of contexts, without recognizing this change as a consequence of the broadening semantic range in general.

meanings of adjectives of comparison. I will explore this question on the basis of a case study of the various uses of adjectives of difference in current English (Breban 2006b). I will try to reconstruct their semantic development from attribute to phoric and internal postdeterminer (Section 4.4.4.1), phoric classifier (Section 4.4.4.2), and quantifier (Section 4.4.4.3). In the course of this investigation, it will become apparent that the main driving force behind the grammaticalization processes suggested here is conventionalization of inferences (Heine et al. 1991; Traugott and König 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]).

4.4.4.1. *From attributes expressing unlikeness to postdeterminers signalling phoric and NP-internal non-identity*

When an adjective of difference is used as attribute, e.g. *different* in (4.21) and (4.22), it expresses that two entities instantiating the same general type are not like each other or do not have many features in common.

- (4.21) How important was it to create a completely different effect in terms of streetscape? Giving the theatre **a completely different appearance** from anything that people would remember from the original Empire Theatre? (CB)
- (4.22) “We have **starkly different philosophies of government** and profoundly different visions of America,” the 72-year-old Senate leader insisted. (CB)

This likeness meaning can be construed as external comparison, as in (4.21), or as internal comparison, e.g. (4.22), in the NP. In the former case, the two instances are denoted by separate NPs; in the latter both are designated by the same NP.

The postdeterminer meaning of referential non-identity can be hypothesized to be triggered by a shift in focus: whereas the attribute meaning focuses on the different sets of qualitative features that characterize the two instances, the new meaning foregrounds the fact that two distinct instances are involved. From a more theoretical point of view, what I am suggesting with the term ‘shift in focus’ is that the semantics of gradable likeness have been replaced by a pragmatic inference of this meaning, more specifically the inference that instances which do not share any qualitative features are *ipso facto* distinct instances. In the grammaticalization literature, this type of context-induced semantic change has been called conventionalization of inferences (Heine et al. 1991; Traugott and König

1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]) and it has been argued to be one of the main triggers of grammaticalization.

Context-induced semantic changes have been explained to start off in very specific contexts and to be triggered by an element from the context (see Brinton and Traugott 2005: 109). Diewald (2002, 2008; see also Diewald and Ferraresi 2008) and Heine (2002) independently developed a more detailed account of the role of different types of contexts involved. Both distinguish four types of contexts related to four stages in the grammaticalization process¹⁸:

Diewald (2002, 2008) distinguishes

- (1) a first stage in which the element has its “**normal use**” in its original meaning,
- (2) a second stage in which the new meaning arises as a conversational implicature; this stage constitutes the precondition for grammaticalization. Diewald (2002: 106) calls contexts in which a new meaning is pragmatically evoked “**untypical contexts**”;
- (3) the contexts found in stage three trigger the actual grammaticalization. Diewald calls them “**critical contexts**” (Diewald 2002: 109) and convincingly argues that they not only involve semantic ambiguity, but structural ambiguity as well;
- (4) the fourth stage involves the consolidation of the new grammaticalized meaning as an independent meaning. Diewald identifies the specific moment at which this happens as the contexts in which only one meaning is available, i.e. either the original meaning is excluded and the new meaning constitutes the only possible interpretation of the element, or the original meaning is the only possible interpretation and the new meaning is excluded. Diewald calls both “**isolating contexts**” Diewald (2002: 104).

Heine (2002) in the same volume proposes a model of contextual changes that partially overlaps with that of Diewald, and which consists of the following four stages:

18. The term ‘stages’ implies that these types of contexts are present for all grammaticalization processes. The data discussed in Part II do not contain examples of all three types for each different development, and therefore do not allow to draw any definite conclusions with regard to this claim.

- (1) the normal use;
- (2) a second stage with “**bridging contexts**” (Heine 2002: 84), which he defines as contexts that are semantically and pragmatically ambiguous. Compared to Diewald’s stages, Heine’s bridging contexts appear to encompass both critical contexts and (certain) untypical contexts (see also Traugott 2009). One important difference between Heine’s bridging contexts and Diewald’s critical contexts is that Heine only defines them in terms of semantic ambiguity, whereas Diewald correctly emphasizes that critical contexts involve semantic as well as structural ambiguity;
- (3) a third stage involving “**switch contexts**” (Heine 2002: 85): these correspond to Diewald’s (2002, 2008) concept of ‘isolating contexts’, but are different in that they only cover contexts in which the new meaning is the only available meaning, and not contexts in which the original meaning has become the only possible interpretation;
- (4) a fourth stage showing conventionalization of the grammaticalized meaning. Traugott (2009) argues that Heine’s stage 3 (switch contexts) and stage 4 (conventionalization) together correspond to Diewald’s fourth stage (isolating contexts).

Evidence testifying to the plausibility of a particular semantic shift towards a secondary inferential meaning is available from synchronic corpus material in the presence of “bridging contexts” (Evans and Wilkins 2000: 550), i.e. examples of fully contextualized natural discourse in which two meanings of one form are equally plausible. That is to say, both meanings make sense in that specific context and both are supported by elements from the context. Evans and Wilkins (2000: 500) argue that bridging contexts are indicative of ongoing semantic change; they occur before the element undergoing semantic change can be said to be truly polysemous. In the remainder of this book, I will use the term ‘bridging contexts’ for these synchronic ambiguous contexts. For the diachronic ambiguous contexts that actually trigger the process of change, I will employ Diewald’s concept of ‘critical contexts’, which I believe best captures the properties of these contexts.

A hypothesis that I will develop in this study is that synchronic bridging contexts not only evidence that there is semantic change as claimed by Evans and Wilkins (2002), but that they might also be informative about the actual changes involved. The specific pragmatic features that support the two meanings present in a bridging context, might give us an insight in the contextual features that have triggered the processes of change, i.e. the

critical contexts, and can help reconstruct them (see also Breban 2009b).¹⁹ I am fully aware of the fact that the contexts showing synchronic ambiguity do not have to correspond to the contexts triggering semantic change, and of the fact that other contextual features could have been involved which are not present in available bridging contexts. However, one might put forward that critical contexts typically need to have a high frequency in order for a new meaning to gain ground and are therefore likely to persist as preferred contexts during the process of change and even after the grammaticalized use has become conventionalized (see Breban 2009b on the grammaticalization of *same*). I merely suggest using bridging contexts as a possible ‘tool’ in the reconstruction process (I will apply this idea to actual data in Part II), which has to be tested with diachronic data.

The hypothesized shift for *different* from the attribute meaning expressing unlikeness between referents (“having different qualitative features”) to the postdeterminer meaning signalling that distinct referents are involved can be observed in examples functioning as bridging contexts in this way, e.g. (4.23).

- (4.23) Prince Saud declined to mention Yemen by name, but referring to the catastrophe of Iraqi aggression, he said: One of the saddest elements of the crisis was that there were voices in the Arab world trying to justify the premise that Arabs lived by **different standards** from the rest of the international community. (CB)

In (4.23), the context allows either an attribute or a postdeterminer reading of *different*. When interpreted as attribute, *different* refers to qualitatively different standards or standards that are characterized by other qualitative features. This interpretation is present in a veiled way because it could be felt to carry the politically incorrect implication of a value judgment with respect to the standards of the Arab world versus the non-Arab community. The postdeterminer meaning allows the speaker to maintain the appearance of political correctness as its foregrounded meaning is that of ‘other’ standards, without attributing any qualitative values to the different sets of standards.

19. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Traugott for her helpful suggestions for disentangling the relation between synchronic bridging contexts and diachronic critical contexts.

Examples (4.24) and (4.25) illustrate the resultant external, i.e. phoric, and internal postdeterminer meanings respectively. In examples such as (4.24), *different* establishes a phoric link of non-identity with another discourse referent.

- (4.24) In March 1992, Kordic signed a minor league contract with the Edmonton Oilers, finishing the season with **a different team**, Edmonton's American Hockey League farm team in Cape Breton. (CB)

In examples such as (4.25), comparison is internal and *different* conveys non-identity between the instances that are part of the instantial set denoted by the NP.

- (4.25) Tim Simenon is Bomb The Bass but he uses **different lead singers** on his records as he likes to maintain a shifting pool of talent. (CB)

Here, *different* clarifies that this set has to be conceptualized as consisting of individual instances (often in distributive contexts, i.e. another 'plural' element in the context interacts with the plurality of the NP exclusively matching up individual elements within the two plural sets) (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.1). In (4.25), for instance, distinct lead singers are associated with each of the records of Bomb the Bass; one singer cooperates for one record, another one for another record. The internal postdeterminer *different* hence allows the speaker to 'individualize' the instantial set. Whereas the unmarked plural *he uses lead singers on his records* expresses that Simenon works with lead singers in general, the addition of *different* puts the individual instances in profile by means of the relations of referential non-identity between them.

4.4.4.2. From phoric postdeterminer to phoric classifier

For the adjective *other*, which as shown in (4.26) has the same phoric postdeterminer meaning as *different* in (4.24) *a different team*, a second phoric use is found in current English, the phoric classifier use illustrated in (4.27).

- (4.26) "Some people may claim the Gold Coast Turf Club has done a lot better than **some other clubs from the RDF**," Mr Gibbs said. (CB)

- (4.27) The plan has the strong support of **medical and other senior staff** of both Queen Charlotte's and Hammersmith Hospital. (CB)

In (4.27), *other* restricts the type 'senior staff' to the subtype 'non-medical'. *Other* conveys this classifier meaning by establishing a relation of non-identity with the earlier mentioned subtype 'medical'. It hence sets up a similar relation of non-identity as the phoric postdeterminer use but involving subtypes rather than instances. Within the general development of *other*, my hypothesis is that this phoric classifier meaning constitutes an analogical extension of its phoric postdeterminer use. I use the term 'analogy' in a broad sense to refer to any exemplar-based change. The phoric pattern involving two instances from the same type (the postdeterminer use) seems to have been copied onto a different level of organization of the NP, the type specification level, which covers the relations between types and subtypes. That is to say, the same phoric relation between instance and antecedent-instance here pertains to subtype and antecedent-subtype: the instances denoted by the NP belong to another subtype than a previously instantiated subtype of the same type. I will provide a more detailed description of the processes of change that might have been involved based on corpus data for *other* in Chapter 6, see Section 6.5.2.

4.4.4.3. *From internal postdeterminer to quantifier*

Finally, the adjectives of difference can also be used as quantifiers, as in (4.28).

- (4.28) I was so happy: the first show I entered, and I won a trophy!
Since then I have shown many other birds and taken prizes at
different shows. (CB)

In my view, this use constitutes a further development of the internal postdeterminer use, e.g. *different lead singers* in (4.25). It results from secondary grammaticalization, i.e. already grammatical elements developing new grammatical functions.

The hypothesis is that the starting point of the secondary grammaticalization process is the internal postdeterminer meaning. When used in this way, *different* designates relations of non-identity between the different instances of the instantial set so as to make them available for individual conceptual awareness. The development of the quantifier meaning is hypothesized to result from a new semantic shift. As postdeterminer *different* allows the speaker to focus on the individual instances making

up the plural instantial set. The quantifier meaning simply conveys that this set consists of more than one, but not many instances. The semantics of *different* are proposed to shift from particularizing the instances in the instantial set to giving an approximation of their number.

As was the case for the hypothesis concerning the shift from attribute to postdeterminer meaning, the semantic shift proposed here is supported by the presence of bridging contexts allowing both a postdeterminer and a quantifier reading in current English, e.g. (4.29).

- (4.29) Ever since the first the African Caribbean Evangelical Alliance (ACEA) Accord celebration was held in 1990, Accord has steadily gained a foothold in the hearts and minds of the Black church community as it has sought to bring together Christians from **different denominational backgrounds**. (CB)

In this example, *different* can either be read as individualizing the set of backgrounds, e.g. some Christians come for one background, others from a second, and so on, or as conveying that the accord brings together many strands of Black Christians. For a more detailed data-based analysis of the semantic shift from individualizing postdeterminer to quantifier, see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.1.3.

4.5. Conclusion

Starting from the semantico-grammatical characterization of the different prenominal uses of adjectives of comparison, I have suggested a new general analysis that captures and explains their different properties. I proposed that the postdeterminer, quantifier and phoric classifier uses might have developed from the descriptive attribute use through processes of grammaticalization. More specifically, the adjectives of comparison studied here are argued to have been affected by a central grammaticalization process from attribute to postdeterminer use, which instantiates Traugott's (1982, 1989) path from descriptive to textual meaning. The grammaticalized postdeterminer use in turn is hypothesized to form the basis for two additional processes of semantic change: a secondary grammaticalization process leading to the quantifier use of adjectives of difference and the analogical extension of the phoric postdeterminer use to a phoric classifier use.

I have substantiated and elaborated the grammaticalization hypothesis by listing several formal and semantic characteristics of the grammaticalized uses of the adjectives that are typically associated with grammaticalization. The most important formal reflexes of grammaticalization I discussed were decategorialization and shift in syntagmatic combinatorics. Semantically, I suggested that the driving force behind the hypothesized grammaticalization processes of postdeterminers and quantifiers is the conventionalization of context-induced inferences, which can be still be observed in synchronic data in the form of bridging contexts. Furthermore, I argued that the resulting grammaticalized meanings display generalization and loss of autonomy.

5. The role of subjectivity and subjectification in the grammaticalization of prenominal adjectives of comparison

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, I suggested that grammaticalization in the English NP covers two general paths: one leading to the development of strengthening uses, e.g. *very* in *a very violent schizophrenic*, and the other to the development of determining uses, e.g. the definite and indefinite article. I then associated these two paths with two interpretations of subjectification in the current literature. The development of strengthening uses involves subjectification defined as the acquisition of new meanings expressing speaker-attitude (Traugott 2003a; Traugott and Dasher 2002). The new determining uses are new grounding elements and their development can be elucidated with Langacker's concept of subjectification (Langacker 1998, 1999).

The hypothesized grammaticalization of the adjectives of comparison which gave rise to postdeterminers and quantifiers clearly instantiates the second subjectification path, the development of new determining uses. In this chapter, I will investigate in which particular ways the grammaticalized uses of the adjectives of comparison are more subjective than the lexical ones. I will use the findings to formulate a more detailed description of the second subjectification path. Elaborating on the analysis presented in Chapter 2, I will argue that the development of determining uses can most accurately be explained as involving several types of subjectification. In a first sense, the grammaticalized postdeterminer and quantifier uses are subjective in that they invoke speaker and hearer and the speech situation, whereas the attribute uses describe the world more or less independently from speaker and hearer to. A shift from a descriptive to this kind of subjective meaning corresponds to Traugott's earlier concept of 'textual subjectification' (Traugott 1995). Secondly, the phoric postdeterminer and the quantifier uses do not simply bring in the speaker in some way, but speaker, hearer and the speech situation are actually part of their semantics. They have grounding meanings. I will discuss the status of these meanings in the frame of Langacker's theory on grounding, which

relies on his conception of subjectivity and subjectification (Langacker 1990, 1998, 1999).

I will discuss the two types of subjectivity and the related types of subjectification, Traugottian textual subjectification and Langackerian subjectification, in Sections 5.2 and 5.3 respectively. I will in each section give a brief general characterization of the kind of subjectivity/subjectification involved and then indicate how it is borne out by the postdeterminer and quantifier uses of the adjectives of comparison. In Section 5.4, I will bring the two perspectives together and briefly comment on the relation between Traugottian and Langackerian subjectivity.

5.2. Traugottian subjectivity and subjectification

5.2.1. Traugott's definition of subjectivity and subjectification

As discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1, subjectification is in Traugott's current work (Traugott 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2007a, 2010; Traugott and Dasher 2002) defined as the development of meanings that express speaker-attitude. To briefly recapitulate, with reference to Lyons (1977, 1982), Traugott posits that subjective meanings are concerned with the "expression of the self" of the speaker, and more particularly his "attitudes and beliefs" (Traugott 2003a: 125). She also added Benveniste's (1966) notion of intersubjectivity to her analytical tools, which she characterizes as the hearer-oriented counterpart of subjectivity; as meanings that "encode or externalize implicatures regarding SP[eaker]/W[riter]'s attention to the 'self' of AD[dressee]/R[eader] in both an epistemic and a social sense" (Traugott 2003a: 130). She arranges subjective and intersubjective meanings on a unidirectional cline of subjectivity:

non-subjective > subjective > intersubjective (Traugott 2003a: 134)

Traugott (1995) advocated a broader definition of subjectivity and subjective meaning, one which covers any meaning that can be characterized as 'speaker-involved' or "speaker-based" (Traugott 1995: 32) and as such not only encompasses meanings expressing the attitudes and beliefs of the speaker but also text-creating meanings. Both types of meanings are considered 'speaker-involved': the former in that they convey the speaker's evaluation and the latter because they reflect the speaker's role as organizer of discourse. In her more recent work, Traugott restricts subjectivity

to the attitudinal domain. The textual meanings are argued to be primarily examples of grammatical meaning, which are at most only “weakly” subjective (see Traugott 2005, 2010). Traugott’s characterization of intersubjectivity builds on this restricted interpretation of subjectivity. Intersubjectivity is in the same way limited to the attitudinal domain and covers meanings that are concerned with the attitudes and beliefs of the hearer. Traugott and Dasher (2002: 226f) refer to these meanings as ‘social deixis’ (see Levinson 1983; Fillmore 1997).¹ The complementary textual function of the hearer as target/interpreter of discourse is not included. This meaning belongs to the realm of ‘discourse deixis’. (Fillmore 1997).

Traugott’s redefinition of subjectivity creates a practical problem: the two interpretations are not always clearly distinguished in the literature. This can be blamed partly on the ambiguity of the metalanguage, as the same terms, such as ‘speaker’s perspective’ and ‘speaker’s point of view’, are often used in the definitions of both interpretations. But it is also as noted by Traugott herself (2003b) more fundamentally due to the fact that the distinction between the two types of subjectified meaning, attitudinal versus text creating, is not always clear-cut. Some examples of connectives and discourse markers display both types of subjectivity. *Anyway*, for instance, not only directs the flow of the discourse (textual), but also signals that the speaker wants to elaborate on or justify what has been said (attitudinal) (Traugott 2003b: 641). For *so*, Traugott (2003b: 633) distinguishes three different meanings, which have all been subsumed under the term ‘textual’ in the literature: (1) “as a cohesive causal connective (e.g. *Bill insulted Mary, so he left*), (2) as a marker of the speaker’s inferential conclusion (*There is 5\$ in my wallet, so I didn’t spend all my money after all!*), and (3) as a turn-taker, signalling the speaker’s attempt to reorient the flow of conversation” (Traugott 2003b: 633), the second one of which is clearly attitudinally subjective as well. Traugott (2003b: 633) classifies the three meanings under two types: the first two meanings which are both cohesive meanings are opposed to the third meaning which is discourse-strategic only.² The difference between the first two meanings is

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1. Fuchs (1993: 42f) approaches the role of subjectivity in deixis in a similar social sense, but claims that it is “entirely intersubjective” (Fuchs 1993: 42).
 2. Traugott (2003b: 633) indicates that the ambiguity of the term ‘textual’ was also pointed out by Romaine and Lange (1991), Powell (1992), and Brinton (1996).

stated to be one of subjectivity. Viewed from the perspective of attitudinal-only subjectivity, the second meaning is argued to be subjective because it involves a deductive process on the part of the speaker; the first meaning by contrast is taken to express a truth-conditional connection as an objective (textual) meaning. Even though I agree that the second meaning is clearly subjective, I feel that this characterization of *so* ignores the fact that the first, causal, *so* is used by the speaker to organize and make sense of the propositional content as a comprehensible text. I would argue that *so* expresses textual subjectivity in this sense. With regard to the final meaning as a turn-taker it is not specified whether it is merely grammatical or whether it is intersubjective in Traugott's current view.³ However, it is unclear to me how this meaning of *so* can be called intersubjective if the notion is restricted to attitudinal intersubjectivity. I would categorize the function of *so* as an example of discourse deixis rather than social deixis. In my opinion, turn-taker *so* displays 'textual intersubjectivity', i.e. it plays a role in the organization of the discourse as interaction between speaker and hearer.

In the next sections, I will argue along these lines that subjectivity and intersubjectivity should not be restricted to the attitudinal domain, but that there are good reasons to reinstate the earlier, two-way definition of subjectivity and subjectification and to extend it to the definitions of intersubjectivity and intersubjectification as well. Intersubjectivity would then be defined as the development of meanings that are 'hearer or addressee centred', in the sense of pertaining to the hearer's attitudes and beliefs, i.e. the social relation between speaker and hearer, as well as in the sense of being concerned with the hearer as 'decoding/interpreting text'.⁴

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3. Traugott and Dasher (2002: 95) borrow the notions 'contentful' versus 'procedural' meaning from Relevance Theory to explain the difference (amongst others Sperber and Wilson 1995 [1986]; Blakemore 1987). Elements covered by the first type can be characterized as contentful and procedural, whereas elements of the second type are procedural only (see also Fanego 2010). Brinton and Traugott (2005: 11) replace the term 'procedural' by 'indexical'.
 4. It can be noted that this added aspect of intersubjectivity seems equivalent to the third element present in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) characterization of the interpersonal component of language as concerned "with the social, expressive and **conative** functions of language [emphasis mine]" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 26) or more generally with the "clause as exchange" (Halliday 1994: 179).

5.2.2. Textual subjectivity and intersubjectivity

Traugott (1995) characterizes textual subjectivity as meanings that are speaker-based in that they relate to the speaker as creator of text. The role of the speaker in elements with textual meaning is not simply to observe and to give an accurate representation of his observations in the form of text, as is the case with objective meaning, but he/she takes up the additional function of organizing this representation. He/she tries to make his representation as easy to understand for the hearer as possible, weighing up optimal understanding for the hearer against minimal effort on his/her own part.⁵ In this way, the speaker ‘steps into’ the text and leaves his mark on the text. In my opinion, this is exactly what subjectivity involves: text showing the signs of the presence of the speaker. This general definition of subjective meaning in fact covers both attitudinal and textual subjectivity. In the case of attitudinal subjectivity, the speaker leaves his mark in that the way in which he/she represents his/her propositions is coloured by his/her beliefs. Attitudinal and textual subjectivity are hence two different manifestations of the same phenomenon neither of which can be excluded at the expense of the other.

The discussion in the previous paragraph brings an important characteristic of textual subjective meanings into the picture. These meanings also contain a prominent hearer-oriented aspect, that is, they invoke speaker-**hearer** negotiations and in the end all aim at facilitating the interpretation by the hearer. Traugott (1995) often remarked on the interactive aspect of this kind of subjective meaning, for instance in the context of stance adverbs, degree modifiers, adversative connectives, etc.

All of these show in their histories an increase in subjectification – interactive to the extent that they provide ways for speakers to guide the hearer in interpretation, but primarily subjective in that they are the devices by which speakers take responsibility for success in communication and seek to meet hearer’s attempts ‘to integrate new information with information that is already accessible’ (Blakemore 1990: 364) (Traugott 1995: 45)

However, as this quote shows, Traugott herself plays down the role of the hearer. I argue, by contrast, that speaker-hearer interaction is at the basis of these textual subjective meanings, which are therefore also inter-

5. This type of subjective meaning is, as it is concerned with speech as interaction, also the focus of work on discourse pragmatics (amongst others Grice 1989; Levinson 2000; Sperber and Wilson 1995 [1986]).

subjective in the textual sense that was introduced in the previous section.⁶ This interpretation of textual (inter)subjectivity has certain consequences for another aspect of Traugott's current theory of intersubjectivity and intersubjectification, the proposed cline of subjectification

non-subjective > subjective > intersubjective (Traugott 2003a: 134).

Traugott suggested this three-step unidirectional path as part of her analysis of attitudinal subjectification. However, it does not appear to have an exact mirror image with textual subjectification, which is inherently intersubjective. Its development seems to consist of two stages only: non-subjective > textual intersubjective.

In addition to the theoretical argumentation presented so far, there are also some secondary arguments for an extension of Traugott's notion of (inter)subjectivity. Firstly, several elements with this kind of textual (inter)subjective meaning such as deictic elements, turn-taking markers, and speech act verbs were a central part of the notion of subjectivity as it was originally conceived (especially Benveniste 1966; Lyons 1977, 1982, 1995). Secondly, even Traugott herself sometimes (implicitly) includes similar elements as examples of subjectivity. This was for example the case for the turn-taker use of *so* (Traugott 2003b: 633) discussed earlier. In other places, she comments that deictic elements are weakly subjective/intersubjective. In Traugott (2005, 2007a), for example, she states that

In a general sense the very fact of communicating with another person entails a weak sense of intersubjectivity: the "I" is constituted in part by conceptualizing the other member of the communicative dyad "you" (Benveniste 1971 [1958] [i.e. English translation of Benveniste 1966 *T.B.*], Lyons 1994) and discourse is communicatively successful only if speakers pay attention to audience needs, and if "mutual manifestness" is worked on (Schiffrin 1990, Nuyts 2001). (Traugott 2005: 1)

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6. The strong interdependence of subjectivity and intersubjectivity was pointed out by Traugott herself with respect to their attitudinal senses. Traugott (2003a) remarks that "in so far as subjectification involves the recruitment of meanings not only to encode but also to regulate attitudes and beliefs, it inevitably involves intersubjectivity to some degree" (Traugott 2003a: 129). Further on, she states that from the opposite point of view "there cannot be intersubjectification without some degree of subjectification because it is SP/W who designs the utterance and who recruits the meaning for social deictic purpose" (Traugott 2003a: 134).

In sum, an integral definition of intersubjectification should in my view consist of two clines: a cline of attitudinal subjectification from objective (less-subjective) > subjective > intersubjective and a cline of textual subjectification from objective > intersubjective. In the next section, I will develop my claim that the hypothesized grammaticalization of the English adjectives of comparison involves textual intersubjectification.

5.2.3. Textual (inter)subjectification in the proposed grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison

In the previous chapter, I defended the claim that the postdeterminer and quantifier uses of adjectives of comparison are the result of the grammaticalization of their attribute use. In this section, I will show that the postdeterminer and quantifier meanings pertain to speaker-hearer interaction and therefore display textual intersubjectivity (see also Breban 2006b). As this is not the case for the representational attribute uses, the hypothesized grammaticalization process also involves a shift from objective to intersubjective meaning. In other words, it involves intersubjectification.

According to Halliday (1994 [1985]: 183), postdeterminers are secondary determining elements that help the identification of the instance denoted by the NP by supplementing additional information to that provided by the primary determiner. The postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison are hence by definition part of the identification process. This process crucially involves speaker-hearer negotiation: the speaker indicates whether the hearer should or should not be able to identify the instance and provides additional clues as to how successful identification can be achieved. The basis for identification is the information that the speaker knows the hearer has. This information can be obtained from the preceding discourse, from their shared background or from the speech situation. As pointed out in the previous chapters, postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison express two more specific meanings, each of which contributes in its own way to the identification process.

The first type of postdeterminers marks phoric relations, e.g. (5.1), (5.2) and (5.3).

- (5.1) One grandfather was a chauffeur and his wife a laundry worker at the castle of one of Ireland's landed English gentry. Her mother was born in the gate lodge of **the same castle** and her father is a retired civil servant. (CB)

- (5.2) An armed man threatened staff and customers before escaping, with an undisclosed sum of money, on a stolen Yamaha driven by **another man**. (CB)
- (5.3) When she arrived, she said there might be a problem, as she'd just heard that the shipbuilders were protesting about something and had blockaded some roads into Marseille, including the autoroute coming in from the north. We rang Marjie and she said there wouldn't be a problem, as we were going on **the other autoroute**, via Aubagne. (CB)

In examples such as these, the primary determiner expresses whether identification of the instance is possible or not, and the postdeterminer elaborates this information in terms of relations of identity, (5.1), or non-identity, (5.2–5.3), with other instances of the same type that are known to the hearer. For example in (5.1), the primary determiner is definite and conveys that the hearer should be able to identify the instance. Postdeterminer *same* specifies that the basis for identification is co-referentiality with the castle mentioned earlier. This phoric postdeterminer use is thus a means for the speaker to help the hearer identify the instance denoted by the NP correctly and to manage the body of discourse referents in the text in general.

The second type of postdeterminer uses clarifies the make-up of the instantial set denoted by the NP, e.g. (5.4) and (5.5).

- (5.4) She is reported to have two children by **different fathers**. (CB)
- (5.5) He won election to Cheshire County Council in 1981 and served for ten years, including at one stage chairing the Libraries, Further Education and Tourism Committees all at **the same time**. (CB)

In examples such as (5.4), *different* indicates that the instantial set is made up of individual instances of the type 'father', which are each related to one of the children. The speaker adds this kind of postdeterminer to make sure that the hearer conceptualizes the instantial set correctly so that he can understand the utterance as a whole. Likewise in (5.5), the speaker uses *the same* to correct the hearer's expectation that the NP refers to more than one instance: *the same* emphasizes that the man held different chairing positions at one moment in time. Both postdeterminer meanings thus bring in additional referential information that allows the speaker to formulate more specific instructions on the basis of which the hearer can successfully complete referent identification.

The quantifier use of adjectives of comparison, which is illustrated in example (5.6), also possesses an intersubjective aspect.

- (5.6) Dalrymple said yesterday the association had already taken steps to halt the situation. “We hope to reverse this trend and have already appointed a sub-committee which includes representatives from the three zones. Fortunately, **various plans** are in force to create new interest for the juniors.” (CB)

It not only measures the instantiation, but, as I will further argue in Section 5.3.4.3, also has an identifying function. Extending Langacker’s (2004a) and especially Davidse’s (2004) analysis of absolute quantifiers, I will defend the idea that it also conveys indefinite reference. Put simply, the argument is that in order to be able to count the instances, they have to be recognized as instances of the general type, which is precisely the meaning of indefinite identification. The quantifier uses of adjectives of comparison such as *various* in (5.6) then mean that the NP refers to an unspecified number of instances that the hearer cannot (yet) identify, but that he accepts are instances of the general type denoted by the head noun. Thus, they have a similar determining, i.e. textual intersubjective, meaning as other primary indefinite determiners.

In the previous paragraphs, I have discussed the referential values of the postdeterminer and quantifier uses of adjectives of comparison. The semantics of both types of postdeterminer use and the quantifier use have a textual intersubjective character as they are all means for the speaker to help the hearer identify the instances denoted by the NP. The attribute meaning of adjectives of comparison, e.g. (5.7), by contrast, which ascribes a degree of likeness to the referent of the NP, is not referential.

- (5.7) At Musgrave Rd, Robertson, many of the suburb’s most expensive homes have sold and some of the most expensive have been built. “They are all brick and tile which makes them **a very different product** to what you will find at the older more established suburbs,” Mr Kawamata said. (CB)

Its role in the discourse is simply to describe a relation in the world. The attribute semantics are hence non-subjective. Because their corresponding attribute meanings are non-subjective, the suggested grammaticalization process from attributes to postdeterminers and quantifiers can be hypothesized to involve intersubjectification.

5.3. Langackerian subjectivity and subjectification

5.3.1. Introduction

So far in this chapter, I have shown that the postdeterminer and quantifier meanings of adjectives of comparison are marked by textual (inter)subjectivity as defined by Traugott (1995), i.e. they contribute to the organization of referents in the discourse. In this section, I will argue that the phoric postdeterminer uses and the quantifier use in particular are not only subjective in this sense, but also in Langacker's (1990, 1998, 1999) construal-related interpretation. That is to say, these uses are not only strategic devices of referent-identification, but they behave as grounding predications (Langacker 1991). As such, they specify the status of the instance denoted by the NP with respect to the ground, i.e. speaker, hearer and the speech situation (Langacker 1991: 53). Moreover, as grounding predications, they do not explicitly mention the ground or turn it into a conceptualized object, but they invoke it as a subjectively construed reference point. In this section, I will step by step discuss these aspects of Langackerian subjectivity manifested in the phoric postdeterminer and quantifier uses.

In the next section, 5.3.2, I will summarize the main aspects of Langacker's theory on grounding and grounding predications. Section 5.3.3 homes in on grounding predications in the NP and on the way in which adjectives can develop into grounding elements. In Section 5.3.4, I will show how the proposed development of adjectives of comparison into phoric postdeterminers and quantifiers fits into this general characterization. Section 5.3.5 wraps up the argumentation.

5.3.2. Grounding, grounding predications, and Langackerian subjectivity and subjectification

As noted in Chapter 1 (Section 1.1.4), Langacker (1991: 51) distinguishes grounding as one of the four semantic functions that characterize a NP in addition to type specification, instantiation, and quantification. Grounding is concerned with the relation between the entity denoted by the NP and the 'ground', i.e. the speech event, its participants, and its immediate circumstances (Langacker 2002b: 29). In non-Cognitive Grammar terms, grounding involves the expression of deictically-related meanings. Consequently, grounding is not restricted to NPs, but is characteristic of VPs (verb phrases) as well, as they designate processes by relating them to the ground. Langacker further argues that grounding is effected by a specific set of elements called 'grounding predications' (Langacker 1991: 89f). As

I will discuss in this section, these grounding predications have certain special properties that set them apart from other elements with related, deictic meanings such as *yesterday*, *here*, etc. (especially Langacker 2002a, 2002b, 2004a).

More specifically, Langacker (2002a: 8f) distinguishes three types of deictic elements. As deictic elements, they all include the ground within their scope, i.e. “the full array of conceptual content that it [i.e. an expression *T.B.*] specifically evokes and relies upon for its characterization” (Langacker 2002a: 4). But they differ with respect to which aspect of the relation to the ground they profile, i.e. which substructure within their scope they single out as a focal point.⁷ The first type of deictic elements, covering elements such as *I*, *here* and *now*, designate or profile an element of the ground. *I*, for example, designates the speaker. The second type includes expressions such as *near you*, *before now*, *known to us*. Here (an aspect of) the ground functions as one of the participants in the relation designated by the expression and is put in profile as part of this relation. Elements of the third type, e.g. *this*, *the*, the past tense morpheme *-ed*, are different from the previous two types because they profile the grounded entity while the ground figures only as an off-stage reference point. Following Langacker (2002a: 10–11), grounding predications belong to this third type and their main distinctive feature is precisely that they do not profile (an aspect of) the ground. Put differently, what sets grounding predications apart from other deictic elements is that they do not make the ground or the relation to the ground the prime ‘object of conception’. Even though the ground is part of their semantics, it is not made explicit and is thus construed with ‘maximal subjectivity’. Deictic elements of the two other types, e.g. *I*, *now*, *near me*, *before now*, in the same way make the ground, i.e. the conceptualizer or subject of conception, object of conception, in that it is part of their semantics as deictic elements. So, in contrast to grounding predications, the ground is construed more objectively as it is included in their profile, i.e. it is put on-stage and is referred to explicitly. By consequence, subjectivity in the sense of maximal subjective construal is a distinctive feature of grounding predications.

The process that leads to this type of subjectivity is referred to as subjectification (see also Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1). Langacker defines it as

7. Langacker (2002a: 4–5) illustrates the difference between scope and profile with the noun *lid*: its scope is the schematic conception of a container and of one object covering another, within which it profiles or designates the cover.

the development of meanings showing subjective construal of the ground.⁸ In his various writings on the subject, Langacker has suggested two different ways in which this process can be conceived. Langacker (1990) describes it as the ‘realignment’ of an objectively construed relation to the subjective axis. In his later articles such as Langacker (1998, 1999), he perceives it as attenuation of an original objectively construed relation, revealing a subjectively construed relation inherent in the process of conceptualization of the original objective relation.

In Langacker’s own work and in that of others following in his wake, the actual discussions of subjectification in the development of grounding predications have focused on the VP, i.e. on the development of auxiliaries (e.g. Langacker 1990, 1991, 1998, 1999, 2003a; Pelyvás 1996, 2001, 2006; Brisard 2002b; Mortelmans 2002, 2004, 2006; Cornillie 2004, 2006, 2007), leaving the development of nominal grounding predications uncharted territory. In this study, I want to amend this deficiency. In section 5.3.4, I will argue that the phoric postdeterminer and quantifier uses of the adjectives of comparison are (part of) grounding predications. Their hypothesized development from the attribute use, which is not subjective, will be argued to instantiate Langackerian subjectification. The following discussion constitutes the first in-depth analysis of an actual subjectification process resulting in new nominal grounding predications.

In order to be able to capture the specifics of the ‘new’ grounding meanings expressed by the adjectives of comparison, I will in the next section (5.3.3) present an overview of the main types of nominal ground-

8. It has to be noted that subjectivity and subjectification are not solely associated with grounding predications. One of Langacker’s own examples of subjective construal is *across* in *Vanessa is sitting across the table* (Langacker 1990: 20–22). In this example, the preposition *across* takes the speaker as reference point for the spatial location of Vanessa with respect to the table. Vanessa is sitting at the other end of the table from the speaker. However, *across* does not explicitly refer to the speaker, and shows therefore subjective construal. Even though there are other examples of subjectification, the combined processes of grammaticalization and subjectification seem to be restricted to the development of grounding predications both in the NP and the VP. As the following definition of grounding makes clear, grammaticalization is in addition to subjectification one of its characteristic features: “grounding is the **grammaticized** specification of the relation between the ground and the profile of a noun phrase or a finite clause in regard to fundamental “epistemic” domains, such as time, reality, and coordinated mental reference [emphasis mine]”. (Langacker 2001: 166)

ing predications that have been distinguished in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1991, 2001, 2004a; Davidse 2004) (Section 5.3.3.1). In addition, I will also provide a first general characterization of the subjectification process involved in the development of new nominal grounding elements (Section 5.3.3.2). I will propose that it can be characterized as a parallel process in the NP to the auxiliarization process observed for the VP.

5.3.3. The role of subjectivity and subjectification in the development of grounding predications in the NP

5.3.3.1. *Grounding predications in the NP: primary identifiers and quantifiers*

The elements that express grounding in the NP are of course determiners, i.e. identifiers and quantifiers. In the following paragraphs, I will briefly discuss the grounding relations expressed by the main types of determiners, definite and indefinite identifiers and relative and absolute quantifiers, as they have been characterized in Cognitive Grammar by Langacker (1991, 2001, 2004a) and Davidse (2004).

I will start with **definite identification**. The mainstream definition of this type of identification is that it expresses that the instance designated by the NP is identifiable to speaker and hearer.⁹ In Cognitive Grammar, this type of identification is argued to be modelled on an indexing relation (Davidse 2004: 211f; Langacker 2004a: 96f; see also Hanks 1992; McGregor 1997: 285–286). The element that most clearly invokes this relation is the demonstrative determiner which prototypically involves physical pointing to an element in the speech situation, e.g. (5.8). In other examples with a demonstrative such as (5.9), the physical aspect is attenuated to a relation of backward pointing in the text, i.e. to an anaphoric identifying relation.

- (5.8) “Please sit down, please,” she said. “I was just having coffee.
I’ll make you some too. Do you want some cookies to go with it?
Here, take **this chair**, it’s comfortable, Daddy.” (CB)

9. Definite identification can be signalled by a range of elements including the definite article, demonstratives and possessives. In addition, there are also constructions in which it is not separately coded such as proper names, pronouns and generic bare plurals. In this discussion I will only be concerned with the general semantics of definite identification. For a more detailed analysis of the specific values of the different codings see Langacker (1991, 2004a) and Davidse (2004).

- (5.9) Behind the bars you'll see a bed and a walker and a big worn green chair, its seat covered in plastic. Resting in **this chair** at all times is a heavy-set woman, her white hair pulled back in a braid, often listening to the sounds of past guests on the beat-up tape recorder beside her. (CB)

According to Langacker (2004a: 99), the most common definite identifier, the definite article, presents a further attenuation of the pointing relation. He argues that it “represents the limiting (zero) case of mental pointing” (Langacker 2004a: 99) as it indexes an instance that is unique and maximal in the current discourse space, i.e. the instance is the only eligible candidate for identification. Davidse (2004: 211–214) elucidates the indexing relation by drawing attention to its quantificational aspect. She proposes that definite identifiers are conceptually related to relative quantifiers in the sense that they invoke a reference mass, i.e. the instantial mass M_T which includes all instances of the type that are available in the current discourse space,¹⁰ with which they compare the actually predicated mass P . In contrast to relative quantifiers, however, they do not measure P , but simply index it. In other words, the definite article indexes a mass P that coincides fully with M_T .

Other definite identifiers such as demonstratives can either mean that P coincides with M_T , as in (5.10), or that P is a subset of M_T , e.g. (5.11).

- (5.10) Last August I visited the remarkable Daphne Seldrick at her home in Nairobi National Park and met the two baby elephants in her care. As I'm sure Wild Life will show, the time and effort involved in raising **these babies** is enormous. (CB)
- (5.11) When **these actors** move right, those others must move left so all the actors aren't on the same side of the stage and so on! (CB)

In the latter case, the identifiers receive contrastive stress setting off the predicated set from other subsets of M_T . In sum, definite identification can be defined as the establishing of mental contact for speaker and hearer

10. I prefer to use the term ‘instantial mass’ (M_T) to Langacker's term “reference mass” (R_T) (Langacker 1991: 91), because the latter, although more generally used, intuitively evokes the concept of relative quantification. In addition, M_T should also be distinguished from Langacker's more recent interpretation of the concept ‘reference mass’, the “maximal extension of a type”, “ E_t ” (Langacker 2004: 84). Crucially, M_T is a dynamic concept: it is not a pre-determined mass, but one that can fluctuate in size depending on the changing specifications in the discourse.

with the same mass P , which is delineated and indexed vis-à-vis the instancial mass M_T .

The main **indefinite identifiers** are the indefinite article a and the zero article. They convey that the hearer cannot or should not identify the precise instance denote by the NP.¹¹ As this characterization shows, the semantics of indefinite identification are usually negatively defined. However, as shown by Langacker (1991) and especially Davidse (2004), there are also positive cognitive operations involved. Langacker (1991) states in this respect that the indefinite article a expresses that “while the nominal it grounds **does** establish mental contact between H [the hearer $T.B.$] and an instance t_i of T , the nominal itself does not render the choice of t_i unique in relation to the current discourse space [emphasis mine]” (Langacker 1991: 104). Davidse (2004) further elaborates Langacker’s characterization and proposes that indefinite identification instructs the hearer to set up a “correspondence relation” (Davidse 2004: 217) between the designated instance and the type T , i.e. t_i is recognized as an instance of T . Davidse (2004: 217) remarks that Gundel et al. (1993) refer to the same mechanism when they analyze indefinite identification as evoking “type-identifiability” (Gundel et al. 1993: 275).

Relative quantification involves the comparison of the predicated mass P and the instancial mass M_T with the prime objective of indicating how the size of P compares to the size of M_T . The relation between P and M_T can vary from full coincidence, e.g. *all*, *each*, *every*, over partial overlap, e.g. *most*, to no overlap, e.g. *no*. As such, these grounding elements primarily have a quantifying function, to measure P , and their identificational contribution is subjugated to it. In contrast to definite identifiers which, as discussed above, also compare P and M_T , they do not index P , i.e. they do not directly provide any information that will allow the hearer to establish mental contact with P .¹²

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11. Indefinite identification can pertain to specific as well as non-specific (i.e. arbitrary or representative (Davidse 2004: 217)) instances. According to Langacker (1991: 104f), the difference between these two types of instances is that non-specific instances have no status outside the mental space in which they are created. This does not entail that this type of instances cannot establish discourse referents. In his more recent articles, Langacker (2004a) treats this issue in terms of the contrast between ‘actual’ and ‘virtual instances’.
 12. Davidse (2004: 218) proposes that relative quantifiers that signal full coincidence of P with M_T such as *all* and *every*, imply pragmatic identifiability: “knowing that **all** the instances in the current discourse space are referred to, comes down to having mental contact with that instancial set” (Davidse 2004: 218; see also Lyons 1999: 2).

Absolute quantifiers, finally, measure the magnitude of the instantiation as such, without invoking M_T as a reference mass. This measurement can take the form of a discrete number, e.g. the cardinal numbers, or it can be a schematic size assessment, e.g. *many*, *few*. While their quantificational value is immediately obvious, their identification value is more disputed. Originally, these quantifiers are not ascribed a grounding function in Cognitive Grammar (see Langacker 1991: 81f). Instead Langacker (1991: 149) took over the traditional assumption that absolute quantifiers are preceded by the zero article. Going against this analysis, Davidse (2004: 219–220) claims that there is no need to posit the presence of such an article, because the conceptual structure of absolute quantifiers includes the same correspondence relation between instantiation and type that is expressed by indefinite identifiers. That is to say, in order to measure the instantiation designated by the NP, they presuppose that the instances are indeed instances of the type T. But, similar to relative quantification, this identificational function is subjugated to their quantification function. It should be noted that Davidse's (2004) interpretation of absolute quantification provides the means to refute the main argument quoted in support of the zero article analysis. This argument states that the presence of zero has to be posited because absolute quantifiers can, in contrast to relative quantifiers, occur with definite identifiers, e.g. *the three girls* vs. **the all girls* (amongst others Declerck 1991: 312; Langacker 1991: 81), and therefore do not express any form of identification themselves. But, because the indefinite grounding relation is, according to Davidse's (2004) analysis, only **implied** in the act of absolute quantification, it can be superseded by an element expressing definite identification. The definite identifier simply signals that a more informative type of identification is in fact possible (Davidse 2004: 220). Rather than functioning as primary determiner, the absolute quantifier takes up the role of secondary determiner further specifying the information of the primary definite determiner.

In the previous paragraphs, I have discussed the grounding relations expressed by the four types of determiners in the NP. In their different ways, they all specify the status of the instance/instantial set denoted by the NP in terms of its identifiability for speaker and hearer, i.e. the ground. But these determiners not simply have a grounding meaning, they have attained the status of grounding predications. That is to say, as is characteristic of true grounding predications, their meaning is grammatical and highly schematic: it is independent of the lexical specifics of the NP and can therefore apply to all NPs. Furthermore, it is concerned with two fundamental epistemic notions, 'mental contact' or the identifiability

status of the designated instance and its quantification (see Brisard 2002). Finally and most importantly, they profile the grounded entity, while the ground and the grounding relation are construed with maximal subjectivity. Rather than making the grounding relation object of conception, they instruct the hearer to set up a particular grounding relation as part of the conceptualization of the designated instance. More specifically, indefinite identifiers and absolute quantifiers give the instruction to establish a correspondence relation between the instance and the type description provided in the NP. Definite identifiers signal that the hearer should make mental contact with an indexed and delineated subset P of the instantial mass M_T . Relative quantifiers, finally, instruct the hearer to construe a mass P that is a subset of M_T .

I would like to make a few final remarks about the nature of M_T . Langacker (1991: 91) puts forward that the reference mass involved in relative quantification and definite identification functions as a secondary reference point besides the ground. However, as defined here M_T is never completely independent from the ground. As stated above, M_T contains all instances of T that are available in the current discourse space. Langacker (2001) defines the ‘current discourse space’ (CDS) as “the mental space comprising those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and the hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse” Langacker (2001: 144). M_T is hence constantly being expanded, when new instances of T are introduced, and restricted, when instances are excluded from M_T or when they fade from the speaker and hearer’s awareness. In other words, it is dependent on the here-and-now of its occurrence in the discourse and is thus itself anchored in the ground.

In this section, I have given a succinct characterization of the grounding value of all four types of primary determiners in the NP, that is, definite and indefinite identifiers and absolute and relative quantifiers. In the next section, I will argue that these determiners are not the only elements whose meaning contributes to the grounding of the NP. In addition, there are adjectives that through the process of subjectification come to express secondary grounding relations.

5.3.3.2. *The development of new grounding elements in the NP*

The four types of determiners that I discussed in the previous section establish the basic identifiability status of the instances denoted by the NP; they signal whether speaker and hearer can/should make mental

contact with the instances in question. However, because these grounding relations are so general, they are sometimes not sufficient to actually establish mental contact or to capture the more complex relation between instance and ground and further clarification is needed. Such additional information about the relation between the designated instances and the ground is then supplied by postdeterminer uses of adjectives which express secondary deictic meanings such as *old* in (5.12) and *regular* in (5.13).

- (5.12) East Germany's Beate Anders set a world record for the women's five-kilometer walk at an international event at Rostock in East Germany. Anders completed the distance in 20 minutes seven-point-five-two seconds, taking nearly nine-and-a-half seconds off **the old record**, set by Australia's Kerry Saxby in January. (CB)
- (5.13) The problem with the conference was that most of those who attended were **the regular suspects**. (CB)

The adjectives *old* and *regular* function as postdeterminers in (5.12) and (5.13): they have no predicative alternates, e.g. *taking nearly nine-and-a-half seconds off the record which is old and *those who attended were the suspects that are regular, nor can they be submodified without entailing a change in meaning, e.g. *taking nearly nine-and-a-half seconds off the very old record and *those who attended were the very regular suspects. Semantically, they add to the definite identification expressed by *the*: *old* identifies the record referred to in (5.12) as the one preceding the newly established record and *regular* in (5.13) clarifies that the suspects in question are known to the hearer because they are the ones that the hearer has frequently encountered in the past. As these paraphrases show, these postdeterminers supplement the information provided by the primary determiner *the* and further clarify how mental contact between instance and ground can be established. In this way, they contribute to the grounding relation set up by the primary determiner. In this section, I will zoom in on these postdetermining elements.

Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008) argue that these postdetermining elements in the NP display many similarities to secondary auxiliaries in the VP, which include verbs that express secondary tense such as (*be*) *going to* (Halliday 1985: 177) and non speaker-hearer oriented modality, e.g. *have to/need to* (Declerck 1991: 376f, 385f). So far, these auxiliaries have not been systematically investigated in the literature, but I will list some of their most important characteristics. Firstly, these auxiliaries do not effect the grounding of the VP on their own, but they have to be

bound by another primary grounding element. (*Be*) *going to*, for example, consists of the primary deictic element *be*, which links the VP to the time of the speech event; the secondary deictic element *going to* then expresses futurity. For *have to* and *need to*, primary grounding is performed by the morphological tense markers, e.g. *-ed* in *had to/needed to*. Secondly, these auxiliaries typically develop through grammaticalization of originally lexical items.¹³ For instance, the development of *be going to* from a verb form expressing spatial movement to a marker of temporal posteriority is a well known example of grammaticalization (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 1–3; Bybee et al. 1994: 266f; Traugott 1994: 1481–1482). Returning to postdeterminers, the first of these two characteristics clearly applies to them as well. Postdeterminers are by definition secondary referential elements that are added to a primary determiner. The issue of the origin of postdeterminers, however, has not been addressed in the literature. But based on the claim proposed and argued in Chapter 4 of this study with regard to the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison, a more general hypothesis can be formulated that all postdeterminer uses develop through similar processes of grammaticalization.¹⁴ The historical data study in Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008) shows that this claim at least also holds true for the postdeterminer uses of the adjectives *opposite*, *complete*, *old*, *regular*, and *necessary*.¹⁵

Langacker's (2002a: 22–23) discussion of (*be*) *going to/gonna* adds some crucial observations about the grounding potential of secondary

13. It should be noted that the lexical elements that develop into secondary auxiliaries are not necessarily verbs. Denison and Cort (2005), for example, show that the comparative adjective *better* has also come to be used as modal secondary auxiliary, (*had*) *better*.

14. Again, it has to be remarked that the lexical input of the grammaticalization process is not restricted to adjectives. For instance, the postdeterminer *then* in (i) originated in an adverb.

(i) When Princess Margaret was born in 1930, her mother, **the then Duchess of York** wanted to call her Ann because she thought “Ann of York” sounded pretty. But the King would not give his approval and that was the end of the matter. (CB)

15. Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008) illustrate their analysis with the synchronic and diachronic corpus study of *opposite*, *complete*, *old*, *regular*, and *necessary*. For each of the adjectives, they investigated five historical samples (covering the periods 1250–1500, 1500–1710, 1710–1780, 1780–1850, 1850–1920) of 100 examples extracted from the Helsinki and the CLMET corpora (see Chapter 10) and 200 synchronic data taken from the COBUILD corpus.

auxiliaries and the role of subjectification in their grammaticalization process to this general characterization. He points out that, although secondary auxiliaries have deictic or grounding meaning, e.g. futurity/posteriority for *going to/gonna*, they are not grounding predications. Instead, they need to be grounded or ‘made finite’ themselves by the addition of a primary grounding element such as a form of *be* or a morphological tense marker. Because they do not establish a direct link to the ground, secondary auxiliaries can take a (temporal) reference point that does not coincide with the ground. In the VP *was going to*, for example, the reference point of *going to*, the point in time vis-à-vis which it expresses posteriority, is a past situation (i.e. a situation that is itself located in the past with respect to the temporal zero point (Declerck 1991: 118f)). Another essential difference with grounding predications is that secondary auxiliaries profile the grounding relationship, whereas grounding predications crucially profile the grounded entity only and the grounding relationship remains off-stage. The future auxiliary *will*, for example, simply locates a process in the future, while *going to* designates posteriority between a process and a temporal reference point that can but does not have to coincide with the ground.

Langacker (2002a) explains these differences between secondary auxiliaries and grounding auxiliaries in terms of their degree of subjectification. The development of *going to* involves a change from the description of spatial movement to the expression of a relation that resides in the conceptualization process, the subject’s mental scanning from a temporal reference point up to the time of the process denoted by the VP (Langacker 2002a: 22–23). This development thus involves subjectification in the sense that on the basis of an originally fully objective relationship, the grammaticalizing element comes to express a relation that involves the subject of conception. Yet, a future tense auxiliary such as *will* displays a further subjectification. The temporal reference point it invokes is equated with the ground and the grounding relationship it sets up is no longer put on-stage as object of conception, but is construed with maximal subjectivity.

Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008) discuss to what extent Langacker’s (2002a) analysis of secondary auxiliaries holds for post-determiners as well with reference to the detailed synchronic and diachronic corpus analysis of the adjectives *opposite*, *complete*, *old*, *regular* and *necessary*, which have developed postdeterminer uses relating to four fundamental deictic notions, space, quantity, time, and modality respectively. They define the particular diachronic development of these adjectives as “a meaning shift which gives the general relation profiled by the adjective a reference point in the speech event” (Davidse, Breban and

Van linden 2008: 496–497). The postdeterminer uses resulting from this process, e.g. *old* in (5.14), have a deictic meaning and contribute to the grounding of the NP.

- (5.14) If you do have an airline ticket, you needn't worry about standing in line too long, because with 54 check-in counters (more than double the number at **the old airport**) the experts reckon it will take 2.7 minutes to kiss your luggage goodbye and start shopping. (CB)

In (5.14), *old* helps the hearer to establish mental contact with the particular airport referred to: it expresses that it is not the airport that is used at the moment of speaking, but the one that was used before. However, similar to secondary auxiliaries, these postdeterminers are not grounding predications. They require grounding themselves and are therefore always bound to a primary deictic such as *the* in (5.14). Analogous to secondary auxiliaries, they invoke a reference point which may but need not coincide with the ground, thus allowing for a differentiation of reference points. In (5.15), for instance, *old* designates such an indirect relation to the ground.

- (5.15) When Captain Kirk issued verbal commands to the computer aboard the starship Enterprise in **the old Star Trek TV series**, it seemed impossible that anyone could really get a machine to respond to the human voice. Nearly 30 years later, life has surpassed art. Computer software makers including IBM and Microsoft Corp are marketing speech recognition products that allow computers to operate by voice. (CB)

Old in *the old Star Trek TV series* does not mean the series that was broadcast before the time of the speech event, but those that preceded the newer series with Jean-Luc Picard as captain of the Enterprise. Another similarity with secondary auxiliaries is that these postdeterminers also profile the grounding relation. Instead of instructing the hearer to set up a grounding relation (see the discussion of primary determiners in Section 5.3.3.1), they designate this relation. Again, this characteristic is related to the fact that postdeterminers have more lexical meaning than primary determiners. As Davidse, Breban and Van linden's (2008) definition "a meaning shift which gives the general relation profiled by the adjective a reference point in the speech event" implies, postdeterminers convey a similar relation as their lexical input but tie it to the speech event.

In sum, although postdeterminers express a relation that invokes the ground in some way, this relation is still to a large extent objectively construed. Their development thus displays only a moderate degree of

subjectification similarly to the auxiliarization process leading to secondary auxiliaries such as *(be) going to*.

5.3.4. Langackerian subjectification in the proposed grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison

Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008) illustrate the development for five specific adjectives, *opposite*, *old*, *complete*, *regular*, and *necessary*, which cover the four fundamental deictic notions space, quantity, time and modality. In this section, I will discuss how their proposals can be extended to the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison, which express another deictic notion, identity or mental contact. As I will show, this notion is intrinsic to the deixis of NPs, i.e. the identification of the designated instance. As a result, the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison have a special status among postdeterminers in general and display a higher degree of subjectification. More specifically, they merge with their primary determiners into determiner units which attain the status of grounding predications. In Section 5.3.4.1 I will discuss the subjectification of these adjectives in general. In Section 5.3.4.2 I will focus on the determiner units that result from it and defend my claim that they are indeed grounding predications. Finally, in Section 5.3.4.3 I turn my attention to the second grammaticalized use of adjectives of comparison, the quantifier use. I will show that this use also displays advanced subjectification as the adjectives come to be used as primary determiners in their own right.

5.3.4.1. *Postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison*

So far, I have argued that the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison developed through processes of grammaticalization and textual subjectification in the Traugottian sense. These processes resulted in two types of postdeterminer uses: phoric postdeterminers, which signal relations of identity/non-identity between the designated instance and other instances of the same type that are present in the discourse, e.g. *same* and *other* in (5.16) and (5.17), and postdeterminers which express the fact that the instantial set consists of a single instance only, e.g. *same* in (5.18), or of several discrete instances, e.g. *different* in (5.19).

- (5.16) If a house sells for \$150,000 and the owner pays a 6 percent brokerage fee, lenders don't care. But if **the same house** sells for \$146,000, the seller pays a \$4,000 fee, and the buyer pays a separate \$4,000 fee, most lenders will finance the property on the basis of its \$146,000 acquisition cost. (CB)

- (5.17) He said not too much should be read into the match as he had been feeling ill and had trouble with the wind and heat. In **other matches**, third-ranked Boris Becker overpowered Jason Stoltenberg 6–4, 6–2 and Sweden’s Stefan Edberg overcame his late arrival on Tuesday night to stop Germany’s Michael Stich 6–2, 6–4. (CB)
- (5.18) What a combination Higuita and Zeljko Kalac, two of the world’s most outrageous goalkeepers on **the same park**. (CB)
- (5.19) The IT department is faced with the task of successfully integrating large numbers of PC based client systems with the central server computers. The design of software to run simultaneously on **different computers** linked by a network is an essential aspect of the implementation of these systems. (CB)

When we look at these two types of postdeterminers in a Langackerian framework, it becomes apparent that only the first type, phoric postdeterminer uses, manifest subjective meaning as he defines it. That is to say, only phoric postdeterminers are deictic elements, i.e. invoke the ground as reference point. *Same* in (5.16), for example, conveys to the hearer that the house denoted by the NP is that instance of house **that he already knows** because it has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. Postdeterminers of the second type, by contrast, do not invoke the ground as part of their semantics. They express how the instantial set has to be conceptualized, as a single or a plural set. As such, they do not designate an objective relation, but neither do they establish a grounding relation. It seems to me that the value of these postdeterminers can be compared to the value of other types of auxiliaries than those expressing tense or modality. As noted by Langacker (1991: 195), “tense and modality are the only auxiliary elements that specifically invoke the ground as a reference point: tense locates the designated process with reference to the time of the speech event, while the presence vs. absence of a modal indicates whether the speech-act participants accept the profiled relationship as a matter of established reality”. Other auxiliaries such as those expressing aspectual relations contribute to the conceptualization of the designated process, but not to its grounding (Langacker 1991: 196–197). The non-phoric postdeterminer uses illustrated in examples (5.18) and (5.19) in the same way relate to the conceptualization process. In Chapter 6, I will propose that the non-phoric postdeterminer use of *different* in (5.19) is in fact an individualizing “nominal aspect marker” (Rijkhoff 2002: 103). That is, their function is to specify that a plural referent set has to be

viewed as individual instances/sets of instances rather than as a single mass (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.1). However, as these postdeterminers do not have grounding meanings, I will restrict the following discussion to phoric postdeterminers and the subjectification process that can be hypothesized to be involved in their development.

Similar to the postdeterminers discussed by Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008), the phoric postdeterminer uses do express deictic meaning. More particularly, the comparative relation they convey is no longer dependent on the specific entities being described, but is a relation that does not exist outside the text or even at any other moment within the text than the moment at which it is established by the speaker. Their interpretation is crucially determined by the here-and-now of their occurrence within the text. They hence constitute an example of “discourse deixis” (Fillmore 1997: 61, 103f). It should be noted that this here-and-now does not necessarily coincide with the here-and-now of the utterance (i.e. the speech event). If it does not, the deictic relations expressed by the postdeterminers are ‘shifted’ relations taking reference in a represented situation in a similar way to the deictic shifts occurring in indirect speech and thought representation (see Vandelanotte 2009). The attribute uses of adjectives of comparison do not have a deictic aspect.

Take for example the lexical attribute use of *different* illustrated in (5.20).

- (5.20) Depardieu’s car rolled into the encampment around 3 p.m. Gil Noir, his personal wardrobe woman for the past decade, was there to greet him, costume in hand. He spent twenty minutes in wardrobe and makeup and came out **a very different man**. Now Depardieu was clad in coarse wool pants, a wool vest, and a tattered old wool jacket. A rough moustache bristled across his upper lip, and his hands and face and neck were deeply ingrained with soot and ash. On his head was an old workman’s cap, the bill pulled down in a way that made him look angry and menacing. (CB)

In attribute examples such as (5.20), *different* describes an objective relation: in the world described in the example, Depardieu before changing into costume and Depardieu in costume are completely unlike each other. The claim that I am making is that this attribute use undergoes subjectification. The relation of lexical difference which invokes a standard of comparison which is a referent in the world, i.e. Depardieu before he has changed, undergoes a shift in reference point: the second element in the

relation changes to from a referent in the world to an element that is part of the ground. For example in (5.21), it is an antecedent-instance that is known to both speaker and hearer.

- (5.21) Robert Zemeckis, director of the hit movie *Forrest Gump*, has won the top award from the Directors Guild of America. The award was announced at a ceremony yesterday and was presented to him last night in Los Angeles at **another ceremony**. (CB)

The subjectification process thus consists of the relation of comparison being tied to the ground as second element in the comparison. This process goes together with the semantics of comparison being shifted from descriptive to referential.

Compared to the postdeterminer uses of the adjectives discussed by Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008), the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison take the subjectification process a step further. In contrast to the postdeterminer uses of adjectives such as *old*, *opposite* and *necessary*, their reference point has to coincide with the ground (the here-and-now of the speech event), and they never take a shifted reference point as *old* did in *the old Star Trek TV series* (example 5.15). Moreover, they do not simply require the presence of a primary determiner, but actually combine with this determiner to form a determiner unit. When *old* in *the old Star Trek TV series* specifies how mental contact, the possibility of which is signalled by the definite article, can be achieved, it simply adds new information to that supplied by the primary determiner. But, as I will elaborate in the following paragraphs, the combination of, for example, *a + other*, *another*, expresses one (complex) phoric relation, that the instance denoted by the NP is not the instance that the hearer is already familiar with but a new instance of the same type, as in (5.21).

More specifically, the hypothesized subjectification process resulting in a determiner unit such as *another* can be broken down into the following steps. As proposed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.4), the objective attribute meaning, which conveys that two instances are characterized by different sets of qualitative features, leads to the grammaticalized postdeterminer meaning of referential difference, in which the instance denoted by the NP is identified as a different instance of the type T from an antecedent-instance.

However, this grammaticalized meaning is not present as such, rather, it combines with the grounding relation expressed by the indefinite article into the complex subjective grounding meaning. The semantics of the determiner unit combines the features of the grammaticalized post-

determiner and those of indefinite identification. The phoric relation of non-identity with another instance of the type naturally links up with the correspondence relation expressed by the indefinite article to convey a complex phoric relation expressing that the hearer should be able to conjure up a new instance as corresponding to a type *T* that has already been instantiated by other instances in the discourse. Formally, the fusion of primary determiner *a* and comparative postdeterminer *other* is reflected in their coalescence into *another* (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1).¹⁶

As I will illustrate in the next section (Section 5.3.4.2), all primary determiner-comparative postdeterminer combinations establish similar complex phoric relations. In my opinion, a possible explanation for the extensive integration of primary determiner and postdeterminer lies in the semantics of comparative postdeterminers. As already suggested, they seem to owe their privileged status to the fact that the notions of identity/non-identity are so closely bound up with that of identification.¹⁷ As a result, they are not just 'secondary' deictic elements, but instead team up with the primary deictic element to convey a more complex identifiability status.

5.3.4.2. *Phoric determiner units as grounding predications*

In the previous section, I proposed that the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison do not simply supplement a primary determiner, but combine with it to form a single determiner unit, which is then the main grounding element in the NP. In this section, I will show that these determiner units possess the essential characteristics of grounding predications: (1) their semantics are highly abstract and schematic as a result of gram-

16. Eckardt (2006: 26) gives a broader interpretation of Lehmann's criterion of syntagmatic bondedness: "the degree to which an item is dependent on the presence of other signs". In this sense, syntagmatic bondedness is characteristic of all postdeterminers, because they supplement the particular primary determiner they combine with and cannot function without it.

17. Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008; see also Breban and Davidse 2005b) point out that postdeterminers can pertain to epistemic notions typically associated with nominal grounding (cf. Brisard 2002), identity (*same*, *other*) and quantity (*complete*), as well as to those typically associated with verbal grounding such as time (*old*) and modal status (*necessary*). It seems reasonable to assume that the former type of deictic meanings can lead to the formation of new complex grounding elements in the NP, while the latter that express atypical deictic meanings in the NP cannot. This hypothesis remains of course to be confirmed or dismissed in future corpus research.

maticalization, (2) they are concerned with a fundamental epistemic notion, and most importantly, (3) the grounding relation which they establish is subjectively construed, i.e. they profile the grounded entity and not the ground or the grounding relation.

A first characteristic that Langacker (2002a: 10) ascribes to grounding predications is that they have developed through grammaticalization and as a result have abstract and schematic meanings. In Chapter 4, I argued in detail why I think that the phoric postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison are the result of grammaticalization. I argued that their grammaticalization process includes the semantic and functional bonding with the primary determiner. I further showed that semantic abstraction and generalization (Bybee 1985, 2003) are integral to the process (Section 4.4.3): the phoric relations they express as grammaticalized items are independent from the concrete entity denoted by the NP, as they are only concerned with its status as a discourse referent. *Another* in (5.22), for example, simply conveys that the designated instance is not a previously mentioned instance of the same type. Its meaning hence does not refer to the actual referent, i.e. to the man in question.

- (5.22) Dublin District Court heard Garda officer Bernard Rohan saw Elvidge hit a man who fell down unconscious. He struck **another man** before trying to run off. (CB)

Due to their abstractness, the semantics of the ensuing determiner units have a similar schematic character to primary determiners. The only contrast with simple primary identification is that their semantics are conceptually complex: they express whether mental contact has been made or not **while** directing the hearer to previous mentions in the text in terms of identity and non-identity. It can be noted in this respect that Langacker (2002a: 10) ascribes a similar complex semantic make-up to demonstratives, which signal mental contact by speaker and hearer **and** make a further specification regarding proximity.¹⁸

The precise semantic value the determiner unit is determined by the type of primary determiner, definite or indefinite, and the type of comparative postdeterminer, signalling identity or non-identity, that it combines. In the synchronic corpus data for the adjectives *same*, *identical*,

18. Like postdeterminers, demonstratives are not anchored to the speech situation: the notion 'proximity' not only covers proximity in concrete spatial terms, but also in metaphorical terms, for example proximity in the discourse (Langacker 2004a: 98; see also Fillmore 1997: 103f on discourse deixis).

other, *different*, *similar* and *comparable* that will be discussed in Part II, three main phoric determiner units occur: definite determiner + postdeterminer of identity, e.g. *the same*, definite determiner + postdeterminer of non-identity, e.g. *the other*, and indefinite determiner + postdeterminer of non-identity, e.g. *another*.¹⁹ Anticipating on the in-depth discussion of the three combinations in Part II, I will in the following paragraphs briefly describe their semantics on the basis of a representative example.

The determiner unit **definite determiner + postdeterminer of identity**, e.g. *the same*, *the identical*, conveys that the hearer can establish mental contact with the specific instance referred to because it is an instance that speaker and hearer had already established mental contact with rather than a new instance of the same type. In (5.23), for instance, *the same* indicates that the particular knee referred to is the one talked about in the previous sentence.

- (5.23) Ian Botham is to consult a specialist this week to find out whether he needs another knee operation. His knee became badly swollen during Saturday's Benson and Hedges Cup final in which Worcestershire were beaten by Lancashire but in which Botham was the top scorer with 38. He's already been sidelined for three weeks this season after an operation on **the same knee**. (CB)

The difference with simple definite reference is that whereas the definite article only signals that the hearer should be able to establish mental contact with the designated instance, *the same* expresses that mental contact with the right instance was already achieved. *The same* conjures up the idea of a second possible referent, but confirms that the antecedent instance is the right referent. *The same* thus expresses a more complex variant of definite identification.

The second determiner unit, **indefinite determiner + postdeterminer of non-identity**, e.g. *(an) other*, *(a) different*, expresses that the hearer has not established mental contact with the specific instance denoted by the NP, but that he can recognize it as an instance of the type T that is identifiable because it is accessible in the current discourse space by means of other instantiations. Put differently, the determiner unit indicates that the type

19. For completeness sake, it has to be noted that postdeterminer *identical* can also combine with indefinite identification into the grounding predication *(an) identical*. But, as I will argue in Chapter 7, this combination expresses secondary meanings modelled on that of the combination *the same*.

to which the new instance belongs has already been instantiated in the discourse. In (5.24), for instance, *another* signals that a new instance of the type 'Australian', distinct from the previously mentioned instance of the type, the Australian Michelle Martin, is referred to.

- (5.24) New Zealand's world number one SQUASH player, Susan Devoy, dropped a game before beating the Australian, Michelle Martin in the quarter finals of the Hong Kong Open. She now meets the third seed, Lisa Opie of Britain, who put out **another Australian**, Robyn Lambourne. (CB)

The determiner unit consisting of indefinite determiner + postdeterminer of non-identity expresses that the hearer has not yet established mental contact with the specific instance referred to, but that he/she can recognize it as an instance of the type T, which is known because previously mental contact has been made with a different instance of the same type.

The determiner unit combining **definite determiner + postdeterminer of non-identity**, e.g. *the other*,²⁰ finally, presents a more complex grounding relation as it also invokes the instantial mass M_T , i.e. all the instances of the type T available in the current discourse context, as a reference point. *The other* indicates that the hearer can establish mental contact with the designated entity because it is that instance of M_T that has not yet been introduced into the discourse itself. For example, *the other* in (5.25) signals that the particular instance of the type 'semi-final' can be identified as that one of the two semi-finals that has not been discussed yet.

- (5.25) In today's men's semis, Frenchman Cedric Pioline will be carrying home hopes as he attempts to prevent a Spanish whitewash. Pioline, who reached the Wimbledon semi-finals last year after beating Tim Henman in the last eight, faces clay court specialist Alex Corretja. **The other semi-final** is an all-Spanish clash between Carlos Moya and Felix Mantilla. (CB)

The hearer can establish mental contact with the instance denoted by the NP, because it is the remaining instance of the instantial mass M_T .

Now that the basic schematic semantics of the determiner units have been described, we can return to the argumentation for their analysis as grounding predications.

20. *Other* is the only adjective that occurs as postdeterminer in this combination in the synchronic corpus data studied in Part II.

The discussion of the three determiner units also clarifies their position towards the second characteristic listed above, whether their semantics relate to an epistemic notion such as time, reality or mental contact (Langacker 2002a: 10). As their semantic characterizations show, these determiner units signal whether mental contact can be established or not on the basis of complex phoric relations between instances and/or types in the discourse.

The third characteristic, subjective construal of the grounding relation, is the most important feature setting grounding predications apart from other elements with deictic, i.e. grounding-related, meanings. As noted in Section 5.3.2, subjective construal of the grounding relation entails that grounding predications profile the grounded entity as sole object of conception, while the ground and the grounding relation remain off-stage. Langacker (1991: 91f, 2002a: 11f) suggests three grammatical tests that determine the profile of an element with a grounding meaning. The first two provide negative evidence, indicating that it is not the grounded entity that is profiled. Firstly, because grounding predications do not profile the ground, but only invoke it as a reference point, they cannot explicitly refer to any aspect of it (e.g. the speaker, the hearer, the time of speaking, etc.). Compare for example, *a known criminal* (Langacker 2002a: 14) and phoric determiner unit + *man*. In contrast to *a known criminal*, which can be specified as *a criminal known to us*, the phoric determiner unit does not allow the addition of a complement designating speaker and hearer, e.g.

- (5.26) the same man \Rightarrow *the same man as you know
 another man \Rightarrow *another man than you know
 the other man \Rightarrow *the other man than you know

More specifically, with the phoric determiner units, explicit reference to the ground is only possible when it is mediated by reference to the antecedent, as in

- (5.27) the same man \Rightarrow *the same man as **the one** you know
 another man \Rightarrow *another man than **the one** you know
 the other man \Rightarrow *the other man than **the one** you know

Secondly, these determiner units do not allow alternates that put the grounding relation in profile such as the predicative construction (Langacker 1991: 92, 2002a: 11). According to Langacker (1987: 218), predicative adjectives have a relational profile: they convey a quality, which functions as the landmark (lm) in the relation, that is associated

with the entity denoted by the subject of the utterance, which is the trajector (tr).²¹ Consequently, only elements with a relational profile can be used as predicates. Applied to the discussion of grounding elements, this entails that alternation with a predicative construction is only available for elements that express deictic meanings but profile the grounding relation, e.g. *a known criminal* – *a criminal that is known*, and not for grounding predications, which have a nominal profile. As shown in (5.28), comparative determiner units do not allow alternation with the predicative construction, which suggests them to have a nominal rather than a relational profile.

- (5.28) the same man \Rightarrow *a man that is the same²²
 another man \Rightarrow *a man that is another
 the other man \Rightarrow *a man that is the other

Finally, Langacker (1991: 92, 2002a: 11–12) also proposes one positive test, which singles out elements that profile entities: the ability to stand

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21. Langacker defines the roles of trajector and landmark in a relational predication in the following way:

In virtually every relational predication, an asymmetry can be observed between the profiled participants. One of them, called the **trajector** (*tr*), has special status and is characterized as the **figure within the relational profile**. [...] Other salient entities in a relational predication are **landmarks** (*lm*), so called because they are naturally viewed (in prototypical instances) as providing points of reference for locating the trajector. (Langacker 1987: 217)

22. As I will discuss in Chapter 7 (Section 7.9.2), there are examples in which *the same* is used as complement in a predicative construction, e.g. (i) and (ii).

- (i) The only thing which could transform them is for manager Kevin Keegan to find goals from other areas in his team – but I just can't see that happening in time for them to mount a challenge this season. It is **the same** for Tottenham. There has been a buzz about the place since the arrival of Jurgen Klinsmann and Ilie Dumitrescu, and I am sure these two at least will be wonderful to watch. But it's ludicrous for anyone to talk about championship bells ringing at White Hart Lane. (CB)
- (ii) A TAILOR-MADE SERVICE TO SUIT YOUR BUSINESS. In the same way that we're different from other banks, we understand that no two businesses are **the same**. So we happily tailor our service accordingly. (CB)

But in these examples *the same* either constitutes an ellipted variant of *the same N*, e.g. (i) in which it stands for *the same thing*, or it is used to express full likeness rather than referential identity, e.g. (ii).

alone substituting for an entire NP, which also profiles an entity. As an example Langacker cites *this* in the sentence *This bothers him a lot* (Langacker 2002a: 12). Examples (5.29) to (5.31) show that the phoric determiner units can also be used in this way.²³

- (5.29) Best accepts professionalism means a more ruthless approach to success and failure. He said: "I am not alone in losing my job. **The same** happened to Bob Dwyer, Brian Ashton and Jon Hall." (CB)
- (5.30) The Application for extension of time had been made after it had ceased to be valid and after the limitation period for making **another** had expired. (CB)
- (5.31) The two fall in love unaware what **the other** does for a living. (CB)

All three tests thus suggest that comparative determiner units such as *the same*, *another*, *a different* have a nominal profile and are thus real grounding predications equivalent to simple determiners such as the definite and indefinite articles.

5.3.4.3. *The quantifier use of adjectives of comparison*

Some adjectives of difference have developed another determining use, the quantifier use indicating that the instantial set consists of more than one, but not very many instances, e.g. *various* in (5.32).

- (5.32) There were **various points** along the way when she could have chosen not to work, to concentrate upon friendships and her health. (CB)

In Chapter 4 (Section 4.4.4), it was proposed that this quantifier use is the result of a grammaticalization process, the input of which is the attribute use of adjectives of difference that construe unlikeness as internal comparison, i.e. between the instances denoted by the same NP, as in example (5.33).

- (5.33) The results of a 1991 nationwide survey of youth in the United States ages fifteen to twenty-four offer insight into **the sharply different attitudes of African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites** (see Table 2.4). (CB)

23. On the use of *the same* as nominal substitute see Halliday and Hasan (1976: 105f).

In this section I will argue that this grammaticalization process, like the development of the phoric postdeterminer use, also consists of the acquisition of a new grounding meaning, and that therefore this process can likewise be characterized as involving subjectification in the Langackerian sense. However, as I will show, the subjectification process in question is considerably different from that of phoric postdeterminers.

I argued that the grammaticalization of attributes expressing difference into quantifiers proceeds in two steps. Firstly, the attribute use develops into a postdeterminer use individualizing the instantial set, e.g. (5.34).

- (5.34) A United Nations official leading a team of experts investigating Iraq's nuclear capability says that during visits to **different sites** in Iraq today the authorities have been very co-operative. (CB)

This postdeterminer use of course expresses a secondary referential relation, but as it does not invoke the ground as part of its semantics, it is not a deictic relation. Rather, it elucidates how the hearer should conceptualize the instantial set, that is, as consisting of multiple individualized instances and not as a single set. This first grammaticalization stage from attribute to postdeterminer hence displays textual (inter)subjectification in that it involves a change from meanings that are themselves conceptualized to meanings that are inherent in the process of conceptualization (see Section 5.3.4.1), but not subjectification as conceived by Langacker.

The second step in the grammaticalization process consists of the secondary grammaticalization from the individualizing postdeterminer use to the absolute quantifier use illustrated in (5.32) *various points along the way*. It is at this stage that the adjective acquires a grounding meaning: as discussed in Section 5.3.3.1, absolute quantification presupposes speaker and hearer to recognize a correspondence relation of type and instances, i.e. it implies indefinite identification. In the following paragraphs I will examine the specific grounding value of the quantifier use of adjectives of difference more closely.

As quantifier, the adjectives of difference designate unspecified absolute quantification. As Langacker observes for one particular adjective, *several*, the number of instances denoted by adjectives of difference ranges from three to "roughly seven plus-or-minus two":

The range for *several* begins with three, and although it has no precise upper limit, its use becomes tenuous if there are more component entities than one can simultaneously hold in mind as individuals (roughly seven plus-or-minus two – see Miller 1956)" (Langacker 1991: 84)

Their meaning hence seems to be very similar to that of *some*, which refers to an unspecified amount larger than one, and which, in contrast to absolute quantifiers, is usually analyzed as a grounding predication belonging to the set of indefinite articles in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2004a: 104, 107).²⁴ In my opinion, the absolute quantifier use of adjectives of difference functions in a very similar way to *some*, with this distinction that because its quantificational value is somewhat more specific (as the quote from Langacker (1991: 84) illustrates), it places more emphasis on the size of the instance. *Some* and the quantifier use discussed here seem to be part of a continuum of increasing quantitative specificity with the zero article, which signals a plural indefinite instantial set without making any further specification about its size, at one end and the cardinal numbers, which designate a concrete number at the other. This analysis tallies with the general analysis of absolute quantification presented in Section 5.3.3.1. Following Davidse (2004), it was argued that absolute quantifiers express the same grounding relation as indefinite determiners, that is, they “instruct the hearer to conceptualize instances as corresponding to the categorization provided by the type specification of the NP” (Davidse 2004: 217). In contrast to ‘real’ indefinite determiners such as the indefinite article and the zero article, however, absolute quantifiers merely presuppose this correspondence relation between type specification and instantiation, in order to be able to convey the size of the instantiation (Davidse 2004: 211).²⁵

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed in what ways the claimed grammaticalized uses of the adjectives of comparison are also more subjective than the lexical attribute use. First, I have shown where the adjectives of comparison can be

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24. It can be observed that the quantifier use of the adjectives of difference also displays the same contextual restrictions as *some*: both occur in affirmative contexts only, unless they are used as relative rather than absolute quantifiers.
 25. This analysis implies a close relation between plural indefinite identification and absolute quantification, which may offer an interesting approach to explaining the fact that *different* and other semantically related adjectives have come to function as quantifiers in English, while French *différent*, which can be argued to have been subjected to a similar grammaticalization process has developed an identifying function (Tovena and Van Peteghem 2002, 2006; Laca and Tasmowski 2003).

placed in Traugott's (1995) framework of subjectivity, which can be generally defined as having speaker-oriented meaning, and intersubjectivity, i.e. having hearer-oriented meaning. I argued that the postdeterminer meanings of the adjectives of comparison are speaker-oriented in a textual sense, rather than in the more widely recognized attitudinal sense, as they are instruments with which the speaker helps the hearer keep track of and/or identify the specific discourse referents denoted by the NP. In a second stage, the textual meanings of the phoric postdeterminers and quantifiers were further identified as ground-related meanings, or as more subjective meanings in the sense of Langacker (1990, 1998, 2002a). More particularly, the phoric postdeterminer uses as part of the determiner units such as *the same*, *another* and *the other*, and the quantifying uses of adjectives of difference were argued to display the most advanced stage of subjectification and to function as true grounding predications.

As this short summary shows, the grammaticalized uses of adjectives of comparison hence display subjectivity as defined by Traugott (1995) as well as by Langacker (1990, 1998, 1999). However, in neither interpretation do they constitute prototypical examples of subjectivity. For Traugott (especially 2003a), the main subjective/intersubjective meanings are those related to the expression/recognition of the self of speaker and hearer. The main examples of subjectivity and subjectification as defined by Langacker are auxiliaries in the VP and actual primary determiners in the NP. A possible explanation for the atypicality of the adjectives of comparison in the range of elements with subjective meaning relates to the particular aspect of the speaker (as 'subject') that they profile as compared to the aspects that are foregrounded in the definitions of Traugott and Langacker. It seems to me that Traugott and Langacker have different interpretations of the 'subject' underlying their different interpretations of subjectivity.²⁶ For Traugott, the subject is the speaker, and more specifically in the core examples, the speaker as a person, with certain attitudes and cognitive abilities and a certain social position. For Langacker, by contrast, the subject is the conceptualizer. The grammaticalized uses of the adjectives of comparison profile yet another aspect involved in the notion of 'subject', which is the subject as interactor, not in the social

26. Other discussions of the relation between Traugottian and Langackerian subjectivity/subjectification can be found in Stein and Wright (1995), Traugott and Dasher (2002), Athanasiadou et al. (2006) and De Smet and Verstraete (2006).

sense, but as participating in the speech event, or, in other words, the subject/speaker as organizer of discourse. As this characterization implies, the subject corresponds to the person responsible for ‘text-creation’, i.e. the textual interpretation of subjectivity in the sense of Traugott (1995), and displays considerable overlap with Langacker’s interpretation of the subject as conceptualizer, although it is of course more general and can be applied to a wider range of meanings. Finally, this characterization makes apparent that meanings that are subjective in this way are also fundamentally intersubjective. They engage in the intersubjective dynamic “evolving at the heart of the deictic centre and of speaker-hearer exchange” (Davidse, Breban and Van linden 2008). The function of these subjective meanings is crucially motivated by the fact that as participant in the speech interaction, the speaker is aware of the hearer and tries to organize the discourse in such a way as to enable the hearer to process and comprehend the speech content as well as possible.

Part II. Synchronic corpus study

6. Adjectives of difference

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will show in detail how synchronic data of *other* and *different* back up the grammaticalization and subjectification analysis proposed in Chapters 4 and 5. Throughout this chapter we will see how the quantitative distribution of the different uses of the adjectives lends support to this analysis. Most importantly, however, I will argue that the grammaticalization-cum-subjectification hypothesis is supported by the conceptual relations that can be observed between the primary uses, i.e. attribute and postdeterminer, as well as in the more specific relations between postdeterminer and phoric classifier uses on the one hand and quantifier uses on the other. This qualitative argumentation, which I will use to reconstruct the semantic shifts relating these various uses, will be based on systematic description of all the main readings associated with the attribute, postdeterminer, classifier and quantifier uses of *other* and *different* in the data.

The organization of the chapter will follow the direction of grammaticalization suggested in Chapter 4: from fully lexical predicative and attribute uses (Section 6.3) to grammatical uses (Sections 6.4 to 6.6). In Section 6.7, I will offer some concluding remarks. Before starting with the actual analysis, I will provide a brief discussion of the data that I used (Section 6.2).

6.2. Description of the data base and method of analysis

The two adjectives of difference that I included in the synchronic corpus analysis are *other* and *different*. For each of them, I made a random extraction from the COBUILD corpus. This is the 56 million words selection of the Bank of English corpus that is accessible via the Collins WordbanksOnline service. The data in the COBUILD corpus date from 1990 onwards and are stratified for register and regional variation. They are ranged into eleven subcorpora on the basis of the parameters British, American and Australian English, and spoken versus written English. Because I am interested in the semantic and formal characteristics of adjectives of comparison in general, I did not distinguish between the

different subcorpora, but consulted the corpus as a whole. However, when the data provided indications that for example spoken versus written register influenced some aspect of the usage of the adjectives I checked the corpus again for the two variants.

The query that I used for *different* was the adjective as such. For *other*, the query combined the forms *other* and *another*. The extracted sample of 400 tokens respects the proportion of the two forms in order to acquire a representative set of all uses of *other* in Present-day English. The relative proportions of instances of the forms *other* and *another* in the set of 400 data is the same as their relative proportions in the entire COBUILD corpus. By making random extractions using the adjectives as described as query, I acquired data of the adjectives in all possible formal contexts, i.e. in prenominal and postnominal position in the NP and in predicative position. So, unlike to the data investigated in Breban (2002) and Breban and Davidse (2003) (see Chapter 3), which were restricted to occurrences in prenominal position, the current data base also includes adjectives of comparison in postnominal and predicative position. The size of the extractions was determined to retain 400 analyzable data for each of the adjectives. It has to be noted that I removed the reciprocal constructions *each other* and *one another* from the original sample, as I believe that the analysis of the semantic import of *other/another* in this kind of elements is too complex to be dealt with satisfactorily in the present study.

The actual analysis of the data applied the model introduced in Chapter 1. For each of the adjectives, I first sorted out the predicative, prenominal and postnominal data. Then I assigned all examples to the different functions, predicative adjective; prenominal attribute, postdeterminer, classifier and quantifier; and postnominal attribute and postdeterminer. The dynamic character of the NP model introduced in Chapter 1 was translated in the actual corpus analysis in the recognition of bridging contexts (Evans and Wilkins 2000), i.e. examples in which the adjectives can be interpreted in two different ways, for example as attribute or as postdeterminer (see also Chapter 4 Section 4.4.4). As argued in Chapter 4, these examples are interpreted as evidence of ongoing semantic change and as instructive for the reconstruction of possible paths of change. For the concrete analysis of the prenominal data, I proceeded along the following lines. First, I sorted out the attributes from the postdeterminers, quantifiers, and classifiers using the two criteria for attributehood introduced in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.2): possibility of predicative alternation and addition of submodifiers. In order to distinguish postdeterminer and quantifier uses, I used the possible addition of another absolute quantifier such as *three* in front of the adjective as criterion. If the adjective itself expresses absolute

Table 6.1. Quantitative overview of the synchronic corpus studies of *other* and *different*

	other		different	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
predicative	0		91	23%
prenominal	397	99.25%	298	74.5%
attribute	0		113	28.25%
lexical classifier	0		0	
postdeterminer	358	89.5%	163	40.75%
quantifier	0		4	1%
phoric classifier	31	7.75%	0	0%
attribute-postdeterminer	0		15	3.75%
postdeterminer-quantifier	0		3	0.75%
complex conjunctive adverbial	8	2%	0	
postnominal	3	0.75%	10	2.5%
attribute	0		7	1.75%
postdeterminer	1	0.25%	3	0.75%
complex preposition	2	0.5%	0	
total	400	100%	400	100%

quantification, it cannot be preceded by another absolute quantifier. Therefore, when the addition of *three* yielded an interpretable NP I analyzed the adjective of difference as postdeterminer. The assignment of an adjective to either of postdeterminer or classifier function was mainly decided on the basis of their semantic domain: while postdeterminers express relations between instances of a general type, classifiers designate relations between subtypes of this type. Compare for example (6.1) and (6.2).

- (6.1) Mr Rosbrook said he was attracted to MBE because it was a unique concept with proven success in the US and **other countries**. (CB)
- (6.2) The Israelis have moved into Addis Ababa in a significant way, providing **military and other support** to the government. (CB)

In example (6.1), *other* construes a relation of non-identity between the US as one instance of the type 'countries' and those instances of the type

that are referred to by the NP *other countries*. By contrast, in example (6.2), *other* sets up a similar relation of non-identity between a subtype of support, military (support), and further subtypes of support. If an example could be interpreted in more than one way, it was analyzed as bridging context. In a final set of examples the adjective *other* no longer fulfils the functions discussed so far, but has become an unanalyzable part of the complex conjunctive adverbial *on the other hand* or the complex preposition *other than*. When these fixed phrases in the data have a clearly distinct semantics from that of the combination of its separate components, they are treated as separate complex items. The quantitative results of this analysis are summarized in Table 6.1.

In the following sections, I will provide a systematic overview of these different uses, with the exception of the postnominal uses which I will discuss for all adjectives of comparison together in Chapter 9. In the discussion, I will bring in the quantitative distribution when it constitutes evidence for the grammaticalization and subjectification hypothesis.

6.3. Lexical uses of *different*

6.3.1. General characterization

A first look at Table 6.1 reveals that *other* and *different* have a very different distribution of uses in current English. The most striking difference is that only *different* is used as predicate, e.g. (6.3), and as attribute in the NP, e.g. (6.4).

- (6.3) Sushi Bar Sai is **very different** from your average sushi bar. First, it's quiet. Most sushi bars are full of raucous shouting, as the chefs greet incoming customers. The chefs in Sushi Bar Sai are far too cool to shout. Then there is the decor. (CB)
- (6.4) Marriage is a difficult thing, and if you have someone who shares the same cultural background it's much easier to make it a success I tried all these years to marry a Pakistani girl so it would be easy, but life doesn't go as we plan. So here I am, marrying a girl who is from **a completely different background** but who shares my vision. (CB)

As argued in Part I, these are the two functions in which we find the fully lexical use of adjectives of comparison. Used as predicate or attribute, *different* expresses descriptive unlikeness, i.e. that two entities are not "like each other" (Collins COBUILD English Dictionary 1995: 456), that they have "characteristics or qualities that diverge from one another" (OED Vol. 3: 229). As such, *different* occupies one end of the continuum

of descriptive likeness on which the lexical semantics of adjectives of comparison can be arranged. This continuum can be represented as Figure 6.1.

qualitative features shared by compared entities			
all	many	few	none
identity	similarity	difference	difference
adjectives of comparison			

Figure 6.1. Continuum of descriptive likeness

As visualized in Figure 6.1, degrees of likeness can be conceived of as indicating how many (qualitative) features the entities being compared share. *Different* as adjective of difference expresses that this number is small or even zero.

In the data, *different* is often accompanied by a submodifier that augments (6.5–6.6) or tones down (6.7) the unlikeness.

- (6.5) But even now our tastes are **very different**, I'm reading a French classic novel at the moment and he's reading a book on Jim Morrison. (CB)
- (6.6) All therapists are less than perfect, and certainly with Pamela I was slow to catch on to what she was trying to tell herself and me. She told me about a dream in which she had seen someone who looked like her, but was not her, living **a completely different life**, with a husband and children. (CB)
- (6.7) All benzodiazepines are chemically similar but they each have **slightly different effects**. Some are recommended for use during waking hours to combat anxiety, others are better at getting you off to sleep. (CB)

The function of these submodifiers differs from the submodification of ordinary adjectives: they do not indicate the degree to which the quality applies to the entity, but they simply nuance the degree of likeness conveyed by the adjective.¹ Examples (6.5) and (6.6) further show that *different* can combine with scalar degree modifiers such as *very* as well as with totality modifiers such as *completely* (Paradis 1997, 2001). The

1. The fact that *different* itself expresses a type of comparison entails that submodification is the only type of gradability that the adjective allows and that it does not construe degrees of comparison (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.2).

reason why *different* allows both types of submodification is that it can indicate a point on the scale of likeness 'some features are not shared' as well its ultimate right point 'no shared features'.

The likeness meaning can be construed in two ways, predicatively or attributively. Both involve the ascription of descriptive unlikeness, but for the predicative use the ascription relation is expressed explicitly by means of the copular construction, while for the attribute use it is not lexicalized separately but is part of the functional semantics of the head-modifier relation. As we saw in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.2), attributes are modifiers that ascribe an independent feature to the referent of the NP. Let us compare (6.8) and (6.9) by way of illustration.

(6.8) However, British attitudes are **vastly different** to those in the Netherlands. (CB)

(6.9) The results of a 1991 nationwide survey of youth in the United States ages fifteen to twenty-four offer insight into **the sharply different attitudes of African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites** (see Table 2.4). (CB)

In (6.8), *different* is used predicatively. It expresses a high degree of unlikeness and the copular verb *are* relates this quality to the entities denoted by its subject, *British attitudes*, and the prepositional phrase, *those in the Netherlands*. In (6.9), *different* is used as attribute in the NP. In this case, the NP containing *different* as a whole denotes the entities that are being compared, that is, 'the attitudes of Africans, Hispanics, and Whites'. It is the attribute use of *different* that I hypothesized to be the input of the grammaticalization process.

In contrast to *different*, *other* is never used as predicate or attribute in the data base (see Table 6.1). In the light of the grammaticalization hypothesis, the absence of lexical uses of *other* can be taken to suggest that the adjective has (largely) completed its grammaticalization process in contemporary English. In earlier stages of English, predicative and attribute uses of *other* were found, as in the following examples cited in the Middle English Dictionary (MED) and the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) respectively.

(6.10) a1450(a1338) Mannyng *Chron.Pt.13954*: Eumaneus was Morganes broþer, Bot his maners were **alle oþer**.
(MED Vol. 14: 333)
'Eumaneus was Morgane's brother, But his manners were **completely different**.'

(6.11) (1808) **Far other scene** her thoughts recall. (OED Vol. 7: 229)

In both historical examples, the meaning of *other* can be glossed as “different in quality” (OED Vol. 7: 229). On the basis of the data I studied, it can be assumed that *other* has lost a productive qualitative sense in contemporary English. As noted earlier (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.1), Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1145) remark that *other* is used with a likeness semantics in a few particular constructions, the one they cite explicitly is predicative *other* followed by a complement as in *It turns out that the US policy is in fact other than he stated*.

6.3.2. External versus internal construal of the unlikeness relation

The lexical uses of *different* can be classified into two types depending on how the second entity involved in the comparison is expressed. This entity can either be designated by the same NP that also denotes the entity being compared, in which case comparison is NP-internal, or it can be coded separately, in which case comparison is external. Examples (6.12) and (6.13) illustrate the two structural patterns for predicative *different*.

- (6.12) I really do believe that the traditions of the Ottoman Empire and the Hapsburg were **terribly different**. (CB)
- (6.13) But the problems, at first anyway, will be greater. First of all there won't be that much work to go around. Not only that, but decades of communism with assured jobs have given Russians a psychological attitude to work which is **very different from that of the West**. (CB)

In example (6.12), the two entities that are said to be dissimilar are the traditions of the Ottoman Empire and those of The Hapsburg dynasty, which are both referred to by the subject NP. In (6.13), the entity that the Russian attitude to work is said to differ from is *that of the West*, which is expressed in the postmodifying prepositional phrase introduced by *from*.

The same two types of construal characterize the attribute uses of *different*. In example (6.14), the relation of unlikeness is NP-internal: the two entities that do not have many features in common are the visions of the two men, which are both designated by the NP itself.

- (6.14) “We have starkly different philosophies of government and **profoundly different visions of America**,” the 72-year-old Senate leader insisted. (CB)
- (6.15) On the following pages, you'll discover the entire range of Luaka specially teas, each offering a **decidedly different taste sensation**. (CB)

It has to be noted that an NP with internal comparison does not have to be plural as in (6.14) (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.3). There is also a rather infrequent variant of the internal comparison pattern in which the NP is singular and the different entities being compared are pragmatically conjured up by the interaction of the singular NP and a distributive element in the discourse context. In example (6.15), for example, the singular NP *a decidedly different taste sensation* compares the qualitatively different taste sensations of each of the teas. In examples (6.16) and (6.17), *different* express unlikeness with a separately coded entity, *my life* in (6.16) and *Mrs Thatcher* in (6.17).

- (6.16) I like to imagine that my life is a model of streamlined modernity. Today was an average shopping day for me: I had to buy enough food for five people for two days, printer ribbons, photographs for a visa and a new tape for my answering machine. My grandmother lived **a very different life**. She never ran her own office, or travelled abroad. (CB)
- (6.17) In background, style and ideology, Mr Hurd is **a very different politician from Mrs Thatcher**. (CB)

As these examples show, this entity can either be found in the preceding discourse, as in (6.16), or it can be the referent of the prepositional phrase that is added to the original NP in postmodifier position, as in (6.17).

In the next section, I will argue that these two structural patterns of the attribute use expressing descriptive unlikeness form the basis for two distinct grammaticalization processes. The semantic shift suggested to trigger grammaticalization interacts differently with the respective patterns and gives rise to different new grammatical functions.

6.3.3. Bridging examples of *different* and the shift from lexical attribute to grammatical postdeterminer meaning

In some of the corpus data in which *different* occurs preminally in the NP, the lexical attribute reading is only one possible interpretation of the adjective. The examples in question are bridging contexts (Evans and Wilkins 2000; see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.4.1) that allow a second interpretation in which *different* does not express qualitative difference, but a postdeterminer meaning. In Table 6.1, these data are labeled 'attribute-postdeterminer'. Example (6.18) is such a bridging context.

- (6.18) "I've had no technical experience, so it's all a bit strange really", grins Scott. "But maybe that's what people like; they want somebody fresh, somebody with **different ideas**". Dig's ideas are certainly left of centre. (CB)

In (6.18), *different* can either be interpreted as expressing that the ideas are qualitatively different, in the sense that they are unlike any ideas that have already been tried. This interpretation appears to be the way in which the writer of this text understands Scott's words, as becomes apparent from his comment *Dig's ideas are certainly left of centre*. However, a second reading of *different* is possible as well. *Different* can be understood as referring to 'other' ideas, i.e. not yet identified ones rather than ideas that are presumed known in that discourse context. This reading fits in with Scott's earlier description *somebody fresh* and with the undertone of modesty in Scott's own representation of his ideas. In the latter interpretation, *different* does not express a qualitative evaluation of the ideas, but simply signals that they are new ones in the discourse context.

The polysemy observed in bridging examples such as (6.18) confirms the existence of a semantic shift from lexical attribute to grammatical postdeterminer use. In Section 4.4.4.1, I proposed that bridging contexts might also provide insight in the contextual features that triggered the particular semantic change, i.e. the critical contexts (Diewald 2002, 2008). More specifically, they might reveal which pragmatic inference lies at the basis of the new grammaticalized meaning. For attribute uses of *different*, this pragmatic inference can be hypothesized to be 'two entities that are characterized by different sets of qualitative features are *ipso facto* distinct entities'. The relation of unlikeness between the entities compared hence implies a relation of non-identity. In bridging contexts such as (6.18) the non-identity relation is foregrounded as a possible interpretation besides the original unlikeness reading. The presence of the two different interpretations is the result of the context-induced ambiguity.

It is important to point out that bridging examples of *different* are found with NPs in which the relation of difference is construed as external comparison, as in (6.18), as well as with NPs with internal comparison, e.g. (6.19).

- (6.19) At the meeting in Hawaii today, representatives from both countries will begin calculating how close Japan came to reaching the 20 percent target. The United States and Japan have **different methods** to calculate American market share here, but, whatever method is used, it's generally believed that Japan did not meet last year's target. (CB)

In (6.19), *different* can be read as indicating that the US employ one method while Japan uses another one without invoking any idea of qualitative difference. But, it can also be interpreted as expressing that the methods of the two countries diverge in a number of ways, i.e. are qualita-

tively different, and yield different results for that reason. As this example shows, the ambiguity of bridging examples with *different* is independent of the external or internal nature of the comparison. In each case, the two possible readings hinge on the question whether the speaker describes qualitative unlikeness or referential non-identity. In sum, the bridging examples for *different* support the idea of a possible semantic shift from lexical attribute to referential postdeterminer. In the next section, I will provide a detailed description of the postdeterminer uses expressing referential non-identity that are argued to be the result of this semantic shift.

6.4. Postdeterminer uses of *other* and *different*

When used as postdeterminer, *other* and *different* function as part of the determiner unit together with the primary determiner and as such, they specify how the instantial set has to be conceived of as a discourse referent. As shown in Table 6.1, both *other* and *different* have postdeterminer uses in the corpus data. For *other*, it is the most frequent use, accounting for 89.5% of all the data. *Different* is used as postdeterminer in 40.75% of the data. Examples (6.20) and (6.21) provide a first illustration of postdeterminer uses for the two adjectives.

- (6.20) His uncle had said this witch had stood there looking at him and then made some medicine with his hands. His uncle had thought he might be calling to **the other witches** to come out of their cave and help. (CB)
- (6.21) Despite the creation of the European Community, there was no fertilisation between managers from **different countries**. (CB)

In (6.20), *other* signals a relation of non-identity between the witches that are still in their caves and the witch that the uncle saw. *Different* in (6.21) denotes that the speaker is talking about possible fertilization between managers that are not from the same country. So, in both cases, the adjective indicates referential non-identity between (sets of) instances in the discourse.

As these examples show, when used as postdeterminers, *other* and *different* help the hearer establish which instances the speaker is referring to. *Other* in (6.20), for example, identifies that set of witches as not including the earlier mentioned witch. In other words, *other* and *different* pro-

vide additional information about the referential status of the instance(s) denoted by the NP and hence contribute to the determination function of the NP.

Because of their association with the determiner function, the postdeterminer uses of *other* and *different* behave as peripheral adjectives in the NP: they are not gradable and have no predicative alternates, as shown by (6.20) bis and (6.21) bis.

- (6.20) bis * he might be calling to **the very other witches**
 * he might be calling to **the witches that are other**

- (6.21) bis * managers from **very different countries**
 * managers from **countries that are different**

The two tests for attributehood lead to ungrammatical constructions for *other*, as shown in (6.20)bis. For *different*, (6.21)bis, the resulting NPs are grammatically acceptable, but change over to an attribute reading of the adjective.

Examples (6.20) and (6.21) further illustrate that the postdeterminer meaning of non-identity can be construed as either an external or an internal relation. In (6.20), the relation of non-identity pertains to the witches denoted by the NP and the witch that was mentioned earlier in the discourse. In (6.21), by contrast, it holds between the instances denoted by the NP itself. Even though the basic semantics of the postdeterminer uses in both constructional patterns is the same, i.e. referential non-identity, the interaction with the two patterns causes the postdeterminers to employ these semantics for different reference-related subsenses in the NP. *Other* and *different* manifest a very different distribution over these two types of postdeterminer uses. *Other* always occurs in NPs with external comparison and has phoric postdeterminer uses only. The data for *different*, by contrast, contain examples expressing externally as well as internally construed non-identity. The internal postdeterminer use was illustrated in example (6.21). (6.22) is an example of the external pattern in which *different* functions as a phoric maker analogous to *other* in (6.20). The determiner unit zero article + *different* indicates that the set of manufacturers referred to by this NP does not include the earlier mentioned manufacturer Rotron.

- (6.22) Takeout 115 VAC muffin blowers, mostly Rotron with 3 blades.
 But some are from **different manufacturers** and have different
 blade counts. (CB)

As indicated in Table 6.2, the two types of postdeterminer uses of *different* are not evenly distributed in the data.

Table 6.2. Postdeterminer uses of *different*

	numbers	%
phoric postdeterminer	36	22.09%
postdeterminer expressing NP-internal non-identity	127	77.91
total of postdeterminer uses	163	100%

The internal postdeterminer use of *different*, e.g. (6.21), is clearly more frequent than its external, phoric postdeterminer use, e.g. (6.22). Moreover, its phoric postdeterminer use is restricted to indefinite NPs. The phoric postdeterminer uses of *other* do not display this restriction. They are found in NPs with definite as well as indefinite identification, as illustrated by (6.23) and (6.24) respectively.

(6.23) I watched George go into the gents and a few seconds later **the other man** followed. (CB)

(6.24) A man in white khurta and lungi, with the white V and vermilion stripe of a devotee of Vishnu on his brow, was standing in the road beside a green statue of Hanuman the monkey. **Other men** carried palm fronds and instruments: a drum, a pipe and a sruti-box, or hand-held harmonium. (CB)

Because the external and internal types of postdeterminer uses of adjectives of difference have different specialized senses, I will further discuss them in separate sections. First, I will focus on the external, i.e. phoric, postdeterminer uses (Section 6.5). In Section 6.5.1, I will provide a detailed analysis of the different phoric relations which they construe as part of determiner units. In Section 6.5.2, I will show that the phoric postdeterminer use is not the end stage of the suggested grammaticalization process taking place in NPs with external comparison, but forms the basis for the development of a phoric classifier use. Section 6.6 looks at the form that the hypothesized grammaticalization process takes in NPs with internal comparison. In Section 6.6.1 I will focus on the internal postdeterminer use itself and in Section 6.6.2 I will show that it might have func-

tioned as input for a secondary process of grammaticalization from post-determiner to quantifier.²

6.5. Phoric postdeterminer and classifier uses of *other* and *different*

6.5.1. Phoric postdeterminer uses of *other* and *different*

6.5.1.1. *Phoric postdeterminers expressing non-identity with antecedent*

As argued above, for NPs with adjectives of difference the external comparison pattern consists of postdeterminer uses which express non-identity with a separately coded entity. In these uses, *other* and *different* express the fact that the instance designated by the NP is not the same one as a separately coded instance. In (6.25), for instance, *other* signals that the designated *matches* are not the match mentioned earlier in the discourse.

- (6.25) He said not too much should be read into the match as he had been feeling ill and had trouble with the wind and heat.
 In **other matches**, third-ranked Boris Becker overpowered Jason Stoltenberg 6–4, 6–2 and Sweden’s Stefan Edberg overcame his late arrival on Tuesday night to stop Germany’s Michael Stich 6–2, 6–4. (CB)

These postdeterminer uses function as ‘phoric’ elements,³ i.e. they contribute to the identification of the referent of the NP by invoking another

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2. As this summary shows, the two types of postdeterminer uses are claimed to be the onsets of two distinct paths of grammaticalization in NPs with external and internal construal. In the sense, the grammaticalization of the adjectives of difference appears to be characterized by a type of ‘structural persistence’. Analogously to Hopper’s (1991: 28–30) lexical Principle of Persistence, which stipulates that the original **semantics** of the grammaticalizing element determine and remain visible in its grammaticalized meaning, the **structural make-up** of the original lexical attribute use as external or internal likeness determines the new grammaticalized value of the adjectives of difference. For a detailed analysis of structural persistence as evinced by the adjectives of difference, see Breban (2009a).
 3. Martin (1992: 98) introduces the term ‘phoric’ and ‘phoricity’ as a cover term for the relations of anaphora, in which the antecedent is found in the preceding text, cataphora, in which it is part of the following discourse, and other specific types of phoric relations such as exophora and homophora (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 31f).

discourse referent, which can be viewed as its antecedent (amongst others Martin 1992: 98; De Mulder 1998: 2).

In the literature (amongst others Halliday and Hasan 1976: 14f; Martin 1992: 121f), phoric relations are divided into subtypes according to where the antecedent to be retrieved is found. The most important types of retrieval are anaphoric, i.e. the antecedent is located in the preceding text, cataphoric, it is found in the following text, and exophoric retrieval, when it is part of the discourse context rather than the text itself. As the following examples illustrate, the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison in general, and adjectives of difference in particular, can have these three types of retrieval.

- (6.26) Our first report was that it was a child who had somehow got caught in the wall of the groyne and both the SEQEB chopper and the Westpac helicopter were alerted. The Westpac Lifesaver 6 landed on the beach while **the other chopper** went off to attend a road accident. (CB)
- (6.27) Informal groups might have **different leaders from those officially in charge** and might set themselves different targets from those of the organization. (CB)
- (6.28) “Are you in any way worried about going to Germany? Not just about doing the programming but just going across to Germany and living in **a different country** and” “No. I’ve got a few new friends who I met you know they came on a six-month exchange thing.” (CB)

In (6.26), the antecedent *the Westpac Lifesaver 6* precedes the phoric NP *the other chopper*. In example (6.27), the retrieval is cataphoric: the antecedent *those officially in charge* is the referent of the prepositional phrase that complements the phoric NP in postposition. It can be noted that nearly all data with cataphoric retrieval have their antecedent in a post-posed prepositional phrase. In (6.28), finally, the antecedent has to be retrieved exophorically; *different* expresses that the hearer will move to a country that is not the one he/she is living in now.

As I will explain in this section, the phoric relation set up by the postdeterminer uses of *other* and *different* deviates from the prototypical phoric relation of co-referentiality, illustrated in (6.29).

- (6.29) A nurse brought me some bread and coffee, but **the bread** was stale and **the coffee** tasted of soap. (Macmillan English Dictionary 2002: 1486)

In (6.29) a text referent is first introduced by an indefinite NP, *some bread*, and it is then referred to by a second, definite, NP, *the bread*. The definite determiner indicates that the referent of this second NP is anaphorically retrievable and coincides with the referent of *some bread*. The phoric relation thus obtains between two NPs that are co-referential on the *instance* level: the same instance of 'bread' is being referred to. The postdeterminer uses of *other* and *different* at first sight express exactly the opposite relation. They indicate that the antecedent is **not** the same instance as that denoted by the NP with *other* or *different*.

In the literature on phoricity, the discussion is usually restricted to co-referentiality. One tradition in which the specific phoric value of adjectives of comparison in general and adjectives of difference in particular has received more extensive discussion is Systemic-Functional Linguistics (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Hasan 1984; Martin 1992).⁴ These linguists view phoricity from a more general perspective as one of the mechanisms of cohesion that is available to the language user to structure text, which makes them analyze phoric relations more systematically. Still, they also view co-referentiality as the prototypical phoric relation (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 28).⁵ In Hasan's (1984) 'identity chains' and Martin's (1992) 'reference chains', for example, the basic patterning is centred around co-referentiality, but both linguists remark that there exist additional types of phoric relations. More specifically, they indicate that the

4. In recent years, the special phoric value of one of the adjectives came to be noticed again in a number of computer-based anaphor resolution studies dealing especially with the adjective *other* (Bierner 2001; Modjeska 2003; Salmon-Alt 2001 on *autre*). The aim of these studies differs from the present one in that their main interest was to formalize the basic retrieval mechanism construed by *other*, while the present study wants to arrive at a systematic theoretical-descriptive analysis of all types of phoric meaning that are realized by the adjectives of comparison. However, the computer-based studies contain some valuable observations and when relevant they will be brought into this discussion. Van Peteghem (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2000) has investigated the value of the French counterparts of *other* and *different*, *autre* and *différent*. Her account is to some extent parallel with the analysis I propose for English. Most importantly, she also distinguishes a qualitative sense from a referential sense for *other* (especially Van Peteghem 2000: 179f). The main difference between our analyses is that she does not interpret this polysemy in terms of grammaticalization.

5. De Mulder (1998) remarks that the strong link between coherence and phoricity is also pointed out by other authors such as Levinson (1987, 1991, 1995), Ariel (1990), Cornish (1996, 1999), and Fox (1987).

phoric relations realized by adjectives of comparison constitute an exception to the ordinary phoric pattern. Hasan (1984: 187) analyses them as a special form of grammatical cohesion that combines co-referentiality with ‘co-classification’. Martin (1992: 99–100) makes a more fundamental distinction concerning the notion of phoricity itself; he recognizes three types of phoricity (illustrated by examples 6.30–6.32).

(6.30) The little boy had a frog in a jar. **It** ran away.
(Martin 1992: 99)

(6.31) The boy found the frog. There was **another frog** too.
(Martin 1992: 100)

(6.32) The boy found this frog and brought home **a baby one** too.
(Martin 1992: 100)

Example (6.30) illustrates ‘reminding phoricity’, which signals that the identity of the participant denoted by the NP is recoverable. (6.29) is an example of ‘relevance phoricity’, which conveys that the identity of a different participant related to the participant in question is recoverable. Example (6.32) illustrates ‘redundancy phoricity’ in which the categorization expressed by the head noun is reprised by a substitute such as *one*. The phoric relation expressed by adjectives of comparison belongs to the second type, relevance phoricity, which as Martin (1992) indicates “is realized through comparative and superlative constructions” (Martin 1992: 100). Despite recognizing the existence of other types of phoricity, such as that expressed by the adjectives of comparison, the two authors do not include them nor do they indicate how they can be integrated in their respective models of phoric chains.

In short, the limited discussion of phoric relations other than co-referentiality that is found in the literature remains very vague and neglects to look into the specific role of the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of comparison. The purpose of the next sections is precisely to determine the exact phoric value expressed by postdeterminer uses of adjectives such as *other* and *different*.

6.5.1.2. *Phoric postdeterminers as part of determiner units*

As argued in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.4.1), phoric postdeterminers always combine with a primary determiner into a single grounding predication that can express more complex phoric relations than simple determiners. The value of the complex phoric relations is dependent on that of its two

constitutive elements, i.e. the postdeterminer, which in the case of *other* and *different* signals referential non-identity, and the primary determiner, which can be definite or indefinite. In the data samples investigated here, only *other* combines with both types of identification, e.g. (6.33) and (6.34). The phoric postdeterminer uses of *different* are restricted to NPs with indefinite primary identification, as in (6.35).⁶

- (6.33) A dramatic car crash also brings 90210's resident boozier Dylan back from the brink this year and by the end of the season he'll be almost done with therapy. In Models Inc, Sarah's been drinking as much wine as **the other girls** do water and not one but two characters have seduced their shrink. (CB)
- (6.34) Kirit Shah, strategist at First Chicago, expects a significant decline in the Dow but believes the FTSE does not necessarily have to follow it exactly. "The Dow will drag **other markets** down but it will be less bearish in the UK just because we didn't rise as much as the US did in 1995," he said. (CB)
- (6.35) For one thing, my mother lives in **a different city**. So it wasn't as if she were sitting over my shoulder, observing the way I behaved with the baby. (CB)

The new grounding predications occurring in the data are thus *(an)other*/*(a) different* and *the other*.

It has to be remarked that even though their basic phoric value is circumscribed by those of primary determiner and postdeterminer, it is more than the simple addition of those values. This observation is in line with the pragma-semantic approach to phoric elements (amongst others Kleiber 1990a, 1994: 13f; De Mulder 1998), which argues that the contribution of these elements in general cannot be reduced to their truth-conditional value, but involves additional pragmatic value. Kleiber (1994: 13) uses the terms "sens descriptif" versus "sens instructional" and also refers to Wilson and Sperber (1990: 96), who distinguish "representational or descriptive" and "procedural meaning", i.e. "information about the representations to be manipulated, and information about how to manipulate them" (Wilson and Sperber 1990: 96). To avoid ambiguity with

6. As we will see in Section 6.6.1.1, the postdeterminer use of *different* with internal construal does occur in definite NPs, e.g.

(i) [...] the internal boundaries of Yugoslavia could, in theory, be negotiated between **the different republics**. (CB)

the terminology introduced by Traugott (1982, 1989) in the grammaticalization literature (the basic value of phoric postdeterminers is only minimally descriptive as a result of their status as grammatical elements), I will be using the term ‘truth-conditional’ rather than descriptive or representational to refer to the first type of meaning.

In order to capture the specific value of these new grounding predications, I will contrast them with those of simple indefinite and definite identification respectively. In this discussion I will work with the Cognitive Grammar analyses of indefinite and definite identification given in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3.1). In order to move from these definitions towards a characterization of their complex variants, several Cognitive Grammar concepts will prove to be indispensable. These include the three concepts that play a crucial role in the Langackerian interpretation of ‘simple’ identification: the type specification-instantiation distinction, the notion of mental contact, and the instantial mass M_T .⁷ An additional concept that I will use is the ‘current discourse space’ (CDS), which Langacker (2001: 144) defines as “the mental space comprising those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and the hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse” (Langacker 2001: 144).

6.5.1.3. *Phoric value of the determiner units (an)other/(a) different*

The first complex grounding predication that I will discuss involves the combination of *other* or *different* with indefinite primary identification, e.g. (6.36–6.38).

- (6.36) You can eat walking along the street, you know, you can stuff your face with hot dogs and then follow them by a giant coke and then perhaps **another hot dog**. (CB)
- (6.37) Denmark play Korea in the opening match today, and a draw would automatically place both teams in the final. But Thomson does not believe the teams will attempt to concoct a draw. “It’s happened with **other teams** before but I can’t see it happening here. They’ll both go for a win,” he predicted. (CB)

7. In this respect it has to be noted that Salmon-Alt (2001) also invokes a separate notion of ‘type’ for the description of the semantics of *other*, but links it to the head noun only. Her account also recognizes the influence of the different types of primary determiner on the value of *other*.

- (6.38) Customs explain that there is a procedure for weapons to be surrendered to them, held by the police and then recovered by the owner from Customs on leaving the country, even if this is from **a different port from that of entry**. (CB)

As discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3.1), recent cognitive approaches have proposed a positive definition of the cognitive operations involved in indefinite identification: in addition to the negative component, the designated instance is non-identifiable, it expresses that the instance is recognized as an instance of an identifiable type (see Langacker 1991, 2001; Gundel et al. 2003; Davidse 2004). The prototypical function of indefinite identification in the text is to introduce a new instance of a certain identifiable type in the CDS, i.e. the current discourse space.

The grounding predications *(an)other/(a) different* convey a more complex variant of indefinite identification. Because of the addition of the postdeterminer meaning of non-identity, they assign a specific value to certain aspects that are left unspecified in indefinite identification. On the one hand, they stress that the NP refers to a discourse-new instance, in that they signal a relation of non-co-referentiality with other instances in the CDS. On the other hand, in doing so, they also convey that there **is** a previous instance of the same type in the CDS and that the hearer hence has access to the type via this previous instantiation. They therefore do not express simple ‘type identifiability’, but specify how the type can be identified. In example (6.39), *another officer* conveys that a new instance of the type ‘officer’ is introduced into the discourse, which is not the previously mentioned *one prison officer*, but which is an instance of the same type.

- (6.39) It was alleged he struck one prison officer with a pipe and hit **another officer** on the head with his fist. (CB)

So, whereas indefinite identification simply signals type-identifiability, the complex grounding predication specifies it on the basis of a double phoric relation, one of non-identity on the level of instance-identifiability and one of identity on the level of type-identifiability. As such, it indicates that the designated instance is a new instance of a phorically retrievable type. Davidse (2001) argues that it thus establishes “type-anaphora” (Davidse 2001: 21) in the discourse.⁸

8. Van Peteghem (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, and especially 2000: 121) and Salmon-Alt (2001) argue that French *autre* involves similar relations of non-co-referentiality and type-identifiability.

Type-anaphora constitutes the basic or truth-conditional value of the grounding predications. I will now discuss some of the specific discourse functions that exploit the relation of type-anaphora, i.e. the various pragmatic values that *(an)other/(a) different* acquire contextually.

Firstly, these grounding complexes often have the value “additional, further” (OED Vol. 7: 229 on *other*) and convey that the designated instance is a new instance in a series of instances of the same type. This specialized discourse sense is clearly present in example (6.36), reproduced here as (6.40).

- (6.40) You can eat walking along the street, you know, you can stuff your face with hot dogs and then follow them by a giant coke and then perhaps **another hot dog**. (CB)

It has to be noted that this additive meaning is especially prominent with *another*. More specifically, the data contain only very few examples in which *another* expresses simple type-anaphora, e.g. (6.41).

- (6.41) But from what you have told me, your strengths lie in farming. I don't think it would be appropriate to expect you miraculously to turn your hand to “gainful” occupation in **another field** especially with your physical problems. (CB)

In the majority of the examples, e.g. (6.42) and (6.43), the notion of type-anaphora does not suffice to capture the meaning of another.

- (6.42) LIMPAT AT WAR WITH GRAHAM
Anders Limpat's Highbury future is on the line following **another bust-up with Arsenal manager George Graham**. (CB)
- (6.43) Fleur who was twenty-one died as she tackled a supermarket fire in Bristol nine days ago. And back to showbiz: Emma Thomson has been nominated for **another best actress Oscar** for her role in *Sense and Sensibility*. (CB)

As in (6.42), there is often no clear antecedent and *another* no longer focuses on the fact that a ‘different’ instance of the type is involved, but simply that a ‘new’ instance of a known type is denoted by the NP. In such examples, *another* cannot be paraphrased by ‘a different’, but ‘a new’ and ‘an additional’ are accurate paraphrases. The type-anaphoric meaning that the instance is one of a previously instantiated type is reduced to an awareness of previous instantiations, that is, *another* expresses that the instance denoted by the NP is a new instance in ‘a series of

instances'. Likewise in (6.43), *another* conveys that Emma Thompson is nominated for a second best actress Oscar. In some examples with this meaning, *another* is preceded by *yet*, which emphasizes the fact that the instance is one in a series, e.g. (6.44).

- (6.44) On talkback radio and in letters to the editor Leunig was accused of laying **yet another guilt-trip** on working mothers. (CB)

Analysis of the synchronic corpus data further reveals that the additive meaning of *another* has developed certain special variants. A first variant is found in examples such as (6.45), in which *another* does not signal the addition of a new instance of a known type, but rather the addition of a quantitative set.

- (6.45) McClellan is pulling no punches when he talks of his knockout record. He dispatched 55 opponents to the canvas as an amateur, followed by **another 29 pro victims** in the ring and three outside it. (CB)

In (6.45), *another* marks the addition of a new set of opponents that have been knocked out by McClellan to the already mentioned set of opponents that he defeated as an amateur. In Langacker's terminology (1991: 158), *another* indicates here a phoric relation between "quantified instancial sets" (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5).⁹

Secondly, the use of *another* can give rise to a certain pragmatic overtone of annoyance or lack of interest, as in (6.46). Because of this connotation *another* frequently combines with adverbs such as *just*, *yet*, which express a similar overtone. Take for instance (6.47).

- (6.46) It looked like a pretty regular night at Spadgie's. Even that panting limo under the el shouldn't be considered unusual for Spadgie's. Music throbbed through the door. **Another party night**; why should this night be any different? (CB)
- (6.47) More than 5000 computer writers and salespeople will attend tomorrow's Sydney launch, with another 25,000 people expected to attend the Windows 95 roadshow across the country. But who cares? It is, after all, **just another computer program**. (CB)

9. According to Langacker (1991: 158), the ability to apply to quantified instancial sets is unique to grounding elements, as opposed to attributes and quantifiers which can only apply to unquantified instancial sets. This characteristic of the determiner + postdeterminer unit is hence an additional piece of evidence supporting the analysis of this combination as a true grounding predication.

In the literature, the additive meaning of *another* has been observed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 391), who distinguish two meanings of *another*: an ‘alternative sense’, in which *another* can be paraphrased by ‘a different’ and an ‘additive sense’, in which it can be paraphrased by ‘an additional’. Furthermore, two contemporary dictionaries reflect the frequency of these two meanings correctly. Macmillan (2002: 48) cites “one **more** person or thing of the same type as before [emphasis mine]” as first meaning and “a different person or thing of the same type” as second one. In the Collins COBUILD Dictionary (1995: 61), the first meaning is “an **additional** thing or person of the same type as one that already exists [emphasis mine]”. The ‘alternative meaning’ is again only the second one.

Besides the additive sense, a second special discourse function of the grounding predications *(an)other/(a) different* is found in the data, which is ‘recategorization of the antecedent’. This function can be observed in examples such as (6.48), in which the NP has a different head noun and hence a different ‘type specification’ than its antecedent.

- (6.48) With the Columbia grounded for the time being, NASA is moving ahead with launch plans for **two other shuttles**. (CB)

In (6.48), for example, the relation between the two head nouns is one of hyponymy: the head of the NP denotes a more general type than the antecedent NP. In examples such as this, the complex grounding predication supplies a categorization for the antecedent.¹⁰ In examples such as (6.49), the process of recategorization is taken a step further. Here the NP with *(an)other* does not provide a hyponymic categorization, but a new, unexpected categorization and hence gives the antecedent a new interpretation. In the anaphor resolution studies of Salmon-Alt (2001) and Modjeska (2003), this discourse function has been referred to as ‘reclassification’ and ‘redescription’ respectively.

10. Maes (1996: 61f) attributes the same kind of ‘qualitative’ function to NPs containing a demonstrative, with this difference that in those examples recategorization of the same referent is involved, e.g. (i).

(i) ‘Warme avonden’ kan rustig het beginpunt van een nieuw toneelgenre in Vlaanderen genoemd worden. Komt daar nog bij **dat deze dolle komedie** helemaal in Belgische handen is. (Maes 1996: 95)

‘Warme Avonden’ [‘Warm Nights’ *T.B.*] can be considered to be the starting point of a new genre in Flanders. Add this to the fact that **this roaring comedy** is a Belgian production. [translation Maes (1996: 95)]

- (6.49) Today Gen Smith travels to Bosnian Serb headquarters in nearby Pale to resolve the airport stand-off and **other sticking points between the United Nations and the Serbs**. (CB)

In another set of examples, illustrated by (6.50), the categorization given in the NP is the first lexical characterization of the type which could only be inferred from the preceding discourse.

- (6.50) The Australian Medical Association president yesterday claimed an increase in thyroid cancer in Australia was directly linked to nuclear tests. However, one of the authors of a new study was more cautious saying simply that there was **no other reasonable explanation** for the increased cases. (CB)

In (6.50), the antecedent is a 'text referent', i.e. a longer stretch of text (see Willemse 2005: 93f).

As indicated in Section 6.4, the postdeterminer uses of *other* consist of phoric postdeterminer uses only, whereas the majority of postdeterminer uses of *different* express NP-internal relations of non-identity. The phoric postdeterminer use of *different*, which as shown in Table 6.2 accounts for only 22.09% of all its postdeterminer uses, is thus relatively peripheral. In fact (*an*)*other* and (*a*) *different* seem to have developed a pattern of complementary distribution with respect to retrieval types. (*A*) *different* is typically used to convey less frequent and in that sense more marked types of retrieval, such as exophoric retrieval, as illustrated in (6.51).

- (6.51) Deep within all mammals is a sort of biological clock that controls almost every aspect of behaviour from mental alertness to digestion. You only need to travel to **a different time zone** or start working a night shift to realize what happens when we stop obeying the clock. (CB)

In this example, the antecedent has to be retrieved from the discourse situation: it is the time zone that the hearer is living in. In the context of endophoric retrieval, (*a*) *different* is especially common in examples in which the antecedent takes the form of a longer description rather than a simple NP, as in (6.52).

- (6.52) "Take my car keys. Take 'um an' get the car. Please. Get somebody to hold it 'til I get out." Amelia sighed. "But Miguel, I don't drive." He stared at her. He knew she was reluctant for **different reasons**. (CB)

In examples with ordinary anaphoric and cataphoric retrieval, by contrast, *(an)other* seems to be preferred.

In addition to its restricted occurrence, *(a) different* is also semantically more restricted than *(an)other*. It has not developed the additive meaning and can only express the basic meaning of phoric non-identity. As example (6.53) illustrates, it always designates that the referent of the NP is not the antecedent-instance.

- (6.53) In March 1992, Kordic signed a minor league contract with the Edmonton Oilers, finishing the season with **a different team**, Edmonton's American Hockey League farm team in Cape Breton. (CB)

6.5.1.4. *Phoric value of the determiner unit the other*

In the previous section, we saw how *(an)other/(a) different* have a more complex meaning than simple indefinite determiners by construing more specific values for the basic cognitive operations of indefinite identification, non-identity of the instance and identity of the type. Similarly, the complex grounding predication *the other* expresses a new, more complex phoric value by attributing specific values to several general dimensions of simple definite identification. Definite identification conveys that speaker and hearer can both identify the specific instance denoted by the NP, or, in Cognitive Grammar terms, that they can both establish mental contact with a predicated portion P of the instantial mass M_T . This mass contains all instances of the type that are available in the CDS and functions as a second reference point that can be used in the identification/grounding of the instance, besides the ground itself (Langacker 1991: 91; see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3.1). The complex grounding predication *the other* specifies one particular way in which mental contact can be brought about: it identifies its referents as the 'remaining' instances of M_T , i.e. as all instances of M_T excluding those denoted by the antecedent.¹¹

- (6.54) Yes, the visitors had included a Navajo boy who sometimes came by himself and sometimes came with a Zuñi boy. **The other visitors** were Belacani, mostly young, mostly long-haired. (CB)

11. Van Peteghem (1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2000: 152) proposes a similar analysis, but not in cognitive linguistic terms, of the combination *l'autre*, definite article + *autre*, in French.

For instance, in example (6.54) *the other* conveys that from the set of all visitors, i.e. the M_T , two specific persons have already been mentioned, the antecedents *a Navajo boy* and *a Zuñi boy*, and that the particular instances referred to by the NP *the other visitors* are hence the remaining persons of the original set of all visitors. *The other* thus identifies the actually predicated mass P or the designated instances by a subtraction relation, i.e. M_T minus the antecedents.

We are now in a position to specify the different phoric relations that underlie the complex referential value of *the other*. *The other* establishes a relation of non-identity or non-co-referentiality on the level of instance-identifiability. At the same time, it also expresses a relation of identity at the type level, i.e. a type-anaphora relation. So far, the phoric import of *the other* is similar to that of *(an)other*/*(a) different*. But in addition to these two phoric relations, *the other* sets up a third one, i.e. a relation to the instantial mass M_T . More accurately, it puts this mass, which is always available as a reference point in the grounding relation, into profile and expresses a semantic relation of subtraction with respect to it. Thus, the complex grounding predication *the other* crucially involves three phoric relations, non-identity with the antecedent instance, identity with the antecedent type (or more accurately the type description of the entire instantial mass), and a profiling relation with M_T , which results in the subtraction of the antecedent instances from M_T .

In Breban (2004), I investigated the specific forms that M_T can take in the CDS in 500 examples of *the other* in the COBUILD corpus. There are three possibilities. M_T can be either only implicitly given, as in (6.55), in the sense that the hearer can deduce (the size of) M_T from general knowledge, or it may be actually present in the discourse. And when it is present, it can either be anaphorically available, e.g. (6.56), or defined by the modification in the NP itself (6.57). Again, the verbal context and general knowledge often play a crucial role in the determination of M_T . It also has to be noted that the size of M_T is not fixed; it can be increased and/or decreased in the course of the text.¹²

12. In Breban (2004) it was further argued that this three-way distinction correlated with another feature of M_T , whether M_T is a plural or a dual mass. When M_T consists of two instances, the data showed it is often only implicitly available. This is the case when the NP refers to things which typically come in pairs, e.g. hands, ears, parties in a conversation, etc. This use has become formalized in several formulaic expressions such as *on the other hand*, *on the other side*. When M_T consists of more than two instances, it is most likely to

- (6.55) The Greeks had learned how to give a marble figure an inner life by simply positioning one foot in front of **the other**. (CB)
- (6.56) The Small Drawing Room contains two fine sets of porcelain displayed on the walls. One is a blue and gold dessert service of first period Worcester and **the other** by Coalport and decorated, most unusually, with the Counties of England. (CB)
- (6.57) Both China and the Soviet Union have been more reluctant than **the other three permanent members of the United Nations Security Council** to endorse the use of force. (CB)

In the previous paragraphs, I have set out which phoric relations constitute the truth-conditional meaning of *the other*. But, like *(an)other*, which on the basis of its truth-conditional value developed specialized discourse meanings such as addition and recategorization, *the other* has also developed more specific meanings in actual language use. In comparison with *(an)other*, however, the pragmatic meaning of *the other* remains much closer to its truth-conditional one. The OED (Vol. 7: 229) paraphrases it as “the remaining”, “the rest of the”. Even though this meaning is very similar to the subtraction relation, it cannot be reduced to it, as illustrated by (6.58) and (6.59).

- (6.58) **BERTRAND STAYS ON TOP** by Dale Paget
 John Bertrand's oneaustralia easily beat Spain to win its fourth race in the second round of the America's Cup yachting Challenger Trials off San Diego yesterday. Competing in an eight-knot breeze, oneaustralia finished 4 min 13 sec ahead of the Spanish boat Rioja de Espana to hold their position at the top of the Challenger Elimination Series table. **The other Australian team**, Syd Fischer's Sydney 95, did not perform well in the light conditions and lost to France3 by 6 min 04 sec. (CB)

be defined by the modifiers of the NP. The data further showed that post-modifiers, consisting of prepositional phrases and restrictive relative clauses, and premodifiers constituted equal portions of the latter data set. The correlation with the feature dual versus plural is specific to a M_T activated by *the other* and can be attributed to the original semantics of *other* as denoting “one of two/the one of two” (OED Vol. 7: 228). Only later were the semantics of *other* extended to situations in which more than two instances were involved. In some languages such as Swedish, the form equivalent to *other* in fact specialized in its original meaning and now signifies ‘second, two’, e.g. Swedish *ander/andra*.

- (6.59) Just to confuse things, the game has more than one Mario. There's a midget Mario who has no special powers and whose head is not particularly good at smashing bricks. When this Mario runs into a mushroom he becomes Super Mario, who is a bit bigger and has a much better head for wall demolition. You never find out but I suspect he would also sing I Got You Babe a little louder and deeper. When Super Mario runs into a funny-looking flower he becomes Fireball Mario. This Mario is my favourite because he can shoot balls of flames that roast those flying ducks before they sit on you. **The other one** is Invincible Mario, which any of the brothers can become by running into a particularly agile star. Invincible Mario, as the name suggests, simply bops aside anything or anyone in its path. He would be a handy guy to have with you at the Myer mid-year sales. (CB)

In these examples, (the size) of M_T , which is the basis for subtraction, is not given in the CDS. Instead, its size is restricted by the use of *the other* itself. That is to say, *the other* signals that the instance denoted by the NP, which is technically a 'new' instance of the type, is the final instance of M_T , and as such delineates the size of M_T . In example (6.58), for instance, *the other* limits M_T , i.e. the set of Australian teams to two. In (6.59), *the other* introduces the last one of the different Mario's and thus restricts the number of Mario's in the game to four. This pragmatic meaning of *the other* is especially frequent in contexts where M_T consists of two instances as in (6.58).

In addition to this core discourse meaning, *the other* also has the potential to 'recategorize' the antecedent like *(an)other/(a) different*, e.g. (6.60).

- (6.60) He probably walked the first section without Maecenas and **the other big shots**; they were due to come by boat to Anxur (the modern Terracina), where he was to join them. (CB)

In this example, *the other* adds a new type description to the antecedent NP: Maecenas is further characterized as one of the 'big shots'.

At the end of this section, I will briefly talk about one special use of *the other* in the data, its use as part of the phrasal unit *on the other hand*. In some of the data this construction is no longer part of the fixed combination *on the one hand . . . on the other hand*, in which the phoric value of *the other* is still clearly present, but it occurs as a conjunctive adverbial in its own right, e.g. (6.61).

- (6.61) Under the cease-fire agreement, the Serbs were allowed to keep their guns and hold their positions in exchange for halting their advance on Srebrenica. The defenders of the city, **on the other hand**, were supposed to give their weapons up. (CB)

In examples such as (6.61), *on the other hand* has taken over the meaning of the entire combined construction and is semantically equivalent to *by contrast*. It is this use of *on the other hand* that is included in Table 6.1 as ‘complex conjunctive adverbial’.

6.5.2. Phoric classifier use of *other*

As shown in Table 6.1, *other* has another phoric use besides the post-determiner one, that of phoric classifier, e.g. (6.62).

- (6.62) There is a “Friends of the Gardens” organisation which offers **educational, social and other activities** aimed at raising funds for the Gardens. (CB)

In this kind of examples, *other* establishes a phoric relation of non-identity with a previously mentioned **subtype**, e.g. *educational* and *social* in (6.62). In this section I will argue that this use is a further development along the path of semantic change of which the attribute use expressing external comparison is the source.

6.5.2.1. *General characterization*

As noted in Chapter 3, the phoric classifier use of adjectives of comparison has not been recorded in the literature so far. More specifically, Halliday and Hasan (1976) claim that phoric items do not function as classifier, e.g.

What distinguishes reference [i.e. phoricity *T.B.*] from other types of cohesion, however, is that reference is overwhelmingly nominal in character. With the exception of the demonstrative adverbs *here*, *there*, *now*, and *then*, and some comparative adverbs, all reference items are found within the nominal group. They may have any of the functions in the ‘experiential’ structure except those of Classifier and Qualifier. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 43)¹³

13. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 43) also exclude phoric items from Qualifier-position, which in their framework coincides with the postmodifier. Yet, as will become apparent in my analysis of adjectives of comparison in post-

This position is repeated by Martin (1992: 134), who explicitly states that “phoric items cannot function as classifiers”. However, as I will show in this section, the data for *other* contain examples that can only be analyzed as phoric classifiers.

Concretely, I distinguished three different constructional patterns in the data in which *other* has a subtype as antecedent, e.g. (6.63–6.65).

- (6.63) And the Israelis have moved into Addis Abeba in a significant way, providing **military and other support**. (CB)
- (6.64) Yet the states had driven **economic and other reforms** that had led to the tax haul jumping up 20%. (CB)
- (6.65) Thai businessmen should invest in Vietnam now, the minister told journalists, before **other investors** take advantage of existing opportunities. (CB)

As illustrated by these examples, the antecedent subtype may differ in terms of word class, noun (6.63) versus adjective (6.64–6.65), and location in the discourse. In (6.63), *other* sets up a relation of non-identity with the noun *military*, which designates a lexical subtype of ‘support’, the general type of the NP. In this type of examples, antecedent classifier and phoric classifier *other* are coordinated by conjunctions such as *and* and *or*. In example (6.64), the antecedent is an adjective functioning as lexical classifier, *economic*. Again lexical and phoric classifier are connected by a coordinating conjunction. In examples such as (6.65), *other* refers back to a lexical classifier that is part of another NP, *Thai*, and conveys that the subtype it derives can be negatively identified as non-X, i.e. ‘non-Thai’. The NP containing the antecedent-classifier is found elsewhere in the discourse, and does not take up a specific structural position in relation to the NP with *other*.

For examples such as (6.65) *other investors*, some might possibly argue for an analysis of *other* as postdeterminer following zero article as there are no overt structural indications of the classifier status of *other* in these examples. The constructional pattern ‘lexical classifier + *and* + *other* + N’ illustrated in (6.63–6.64) does not allow such an analysis as *other* is in

nominal position in Chapter 9, this position can accommodate postdeterminer uses, e.g. *other* in (i).

- (i) These documents, statements by Aboriginal women in South Australia seeking to preserve a sacred site from a controversial bridge development, have been seen by **very few people other than the authors**. (CB)

these kinds of examples paratactically coordinated with the lexical classifier. The structural position of *other* in examples such as (6.63–6.64) is underlined in examples such as (6.66–6.68), which contain NPs in which the lexical classifier is preceded by an attribute, another classifier and/or a definite determiner.

- (6.66) Whether government plays a relatively minor role in the economy or is a pervasive influence can have **important economic and other effects on racial matters**. (CB)
- (6.67) We are pleased that the Catholic Physicians' Guild, holding its convention in New York, would choose to be here for this Mass today under the leadership of its president. We have with us representatives of **our own Catholic hospitals and other health care facilities here in the Archdiocese of New York**. (CB)
- (6.68) If he still believes that you ought to be able to manage on the current "housekeeping" you could challenge him to take over the shopping and see whether he can do better. Unless you are, in fact, a poor manager, he'll either spend much more than you do **on the grocery and other bills**, or find that by the end of the week the fridge is empty following his attempt to keep within the present limits. (CB)

In these examples it is clear that lexical classifier + *other* together constitute the classifier zone of the NP. In (6.66), for instance, the lexical attribute *important* modifies the entire type description 'economic and other effects'. Similarly, in (6.67), the classifier *Catholic* provides a further subtype specification to the type 'hospitals and other healthcare facilities'. In examples (6.67–6.68), the definite determiners *our* and *the* respectively have all of the NP in their scope; no reading with zero article in front of *other* is possible. Now that the existence of a phoric classifier use of *other* has been established on the basis of structural arguments, we can focus on its specific phoric value and its relation to the phoric postdeterminer use of the adjective.

6.5.2.2. *The relation between the phoric postdeterminer and phoric classifier uses of other*

In this section, I will focus on the semantics of the phoric classifier use. Take for instance (6.65) reproduced here as (6.69).

- (6.69) Thai businessmen should invest in Vietnam now, the minister told journalists, before **other investors** take advantage of existing opportunities. (CB)

In (6.69), *other* sets up a relation of non-identity with the adjective *Thai*, which functions as classifier in the NP *Thai businessmen*, and conveys that the NP it is part of refers to investors that belong to different subtypes, i.e. that are ‘non-Thai’.

As the semantic analysis of this example illustrates, the phoric relation established by *other* is analogous to the relation of non-identity construed by its phoric postdeterminer use. More specifically, the phoric value of classifier *other* appears to be similar to that of the indefinite grounding predication *(an)other/(a) different*. That is to say, the two uses involve a similar phoric relation, non-identity with an antecedent of the same type, but they do so with regard to different elements involved in the conceptualization of referents, instances (postdeterminer) and subtypes (classifiers).

On the basis of the parallels between the phoric postdeterminer and classifier use of *other*, I posit that the classifier use is an analogical extension of the phoric postdeterminer use. In other words, it is a later development that copies the phoric relation of non-identity to a different level of organization in the NP, to the type specification. Conclusive evidence for this hypothesis can of course only be provided by actual historical data (see Chapter 10). But there are synchronic indications suggesting a secondary status for the phoric classifier use. That is to say, the classifier use of adjectives of difference is in several respects more restricted than the phoric postdeterminer use. Firstly, only one of the two adjectives studied here, *other*, has phoric classifier uses in the data. Secondly, as indicated in Table 6.1, the phoric classifier use of *other* constitutes only 7.75% of all the data whereas its phoric postdeterminer use accounts for 89.5%. Thirdly, the classifier data display only one type of phoric relation, anaphora. In the postdeterminer data this is the most common relation among a greater variety including cataphora and exophora. This suggests that the classifier use copied the most frequent phoric postdeterminer pattern.

With regard to the concrete development of the phoric classifier use from the phoric postdeterminer use, the claim that I put forward here is that this deviating classifier use of *other* might have arisen as an extension of its postdeterminer use in one particular structural environment, which can be illustrated on the basis of the examples (6.70–6.73).

- (6.70) Mr Rosbrook said he was attracted to MBE because it was a unique concept with proven success in the US and **other countries**. (CB)
- (6.71) On Mount Elgon, each cave is a separate entity, it's a cul de sac and they go more or less horizontally into the mountain beneath a layer of harder rock, into the ash layer and this is one of the big questions about these caves is how they were formed and the time that I've spent there observing the animals that use the caves led me to believe that the caves are largely a result of mining by elephants and **other animals**. (CB)
- (6.72) he'll either spend much more than you do on **the grocery and other bills**, or find that by the end of the week the fridge is empty following his attempt to keep within the present limits. (CB)
- (6.73) Yet the states had driven **economic and other reforms** that had led to the tax haul jumping up 20%. (CB)

Example (6.70) is a postdeterminer example in which the NP *other countries* is coordinated to the antecedent NP by means of the conjunction *and*. It identifies the configuration that constitutes the basis for the semantic extension, which is 'antecedent NP *and other* noun'. Crucially, the head noun of the NP containing *other* stands in a hyponymic relation to the antecedent NP. (6.71) represents a bridging context in which the classifier use could have originated. *Elephants and other animals* is formally identical to *the US and other countries*, but the semantic relation between 'elephants' and 'animals' is ambiguous: does 'elephants' refer to a (generic) instance of the type 'animals' or to a subtype of 'animals'? This ambiguity is no longer present in example (6.72), *grocery and other bills*, in which apparently the same configuration noun *and other* noun only allows for an interpretation involving subtypes, 'grocery bills and further subtypes of bills'. The final step is the extension from antecedent-classifiers that are nouns to classifying adjectives such as *economic* in (6.73) and constructions such as the one in example (6.69), *Thai businessmen [...] other investors*.

It hence seems to me that examples such as (6.71) *elephants and other animals* could have played a crucial role. These examples are both structurally and semantically ambiguous. They have a coordinated structure similar to that of 'nominal lexical classifier + *and* + *other* + head noun', illustrated in (6.72). Semantically, the antecedent of *other* in these examples is a generic NP. As such, they constitute a special kind of subtypes.

Langacker (1991: 63–64, 70–71) proposes that the referent of a generic NP is not located in the spatio-temporal domain of instantiation but differs from concrete instances in that it takes “type space” as its domain of instantiation (Langacker 1991: 64). It is hence “a-kind-construed-as-instance” (Davidse 2004: 215).¹⁴ This ambivalent status of generic NPs may have provided a structural context that facilitated the shift from the expression of a phoric relation between concrete instances, i.e. the post-determiner use, to the expression of a similar relation between subtypes in the classifier use.

6.6. Individualizing postdeterminer and quantifier uses of *different*

In this section, I will focus on NPs with internal comparison. The grammatical uses found here are the individualizing postdeterminer and quantifier uses. As pointed out in Section 6.4, only one of the adjectives studied here, *different*, has these grammatical uses in NPs with internal comparison. The structure of this section is as follows: in Section 6.6.1 I will provide a detailed analysis of the individualizing postdeterminer use of *different* and discuss which semantic shift might be reconstructed between this use and the quantifier use. A full description of the quantifier use will then be given in Section 6.6.2.

6.6.1. Individualizing postdeterminer uses of *different*

The grammatical postdeterminer uses of *different* concerned here construe non-identity as an internal relation. As example (6.74) illustrates, the referential non-identity pertains to the different instances in the instantial set denoted by the NP.

- (6.74) Since IL and CIPS represent **different constituencies**, some rivalry may be inevitable. (CB)

14. It has to be noted that Langacker (1991) in fact only claims a similar analysis for definite and indefinite singular generics, e.g. *a wombat is a mammal* and *the wombat is a mammal* and takes bare plural generics to designate instances in the concrete spatio-temporal domain. Their generic interpretation arises from the fact that they present the maximal instantiation of the type in the relevant discourse space (Langacker 1991: 101). However, following Carlson, G. (1978), I hold that bare generics also designate the kind as such (see also Davidse 2004: 215).

This internal use is in fact the most frequent postdeterminer use of *different* in my data. As indicated in Table 6.2, it accounts for 77.91% of all postdeterminer uses of *different*. As observed earlier, in the majority of examples non-phoric postdeterminer *different* occurs in a plural NP and the instances being compared are the different instances of the plural instantial set, as in (6.74). However, there are a small number of examples, e.g. (6.75), in which the NP itself is singular and the presence of multiple referents is only implied by the semantic context (see Carlson 1987; Laca and Tasmowski 2001).

- (6.75) The Homestead bakery makes excellent breads and desserts.
The menu also features **a different flavor of “Homestead-made” ice cream** every night. (CB)

Because the examples with plural NPs are clearly the prototypical realization of internal referential non-identity, the main argument of this section (Section 6.6.1.1) will focus on this kind of NP. In Section 6.6.1.2, I will return to the singular variant illustrated in (6.75).

6.6.1.1. *Different as individualizing postdeterminer in plural NPs*

The basic meaning of postdeterminer *different* in NPs with internal comparison is non-identity of the multiple instances denoted by the NP, e.g. (6.76).

- (6.76) I think when you analyse the fact that we won five Super Bowls and ‘ve done it with **different head coaches, different quarterbacks** and **different players** and the only real constant has been team owner Ed debartolo, it says something about the organisation.

In (6.76), *different* means ‘not the same ones’, which contrasts with the notion of ‘the same team’ evoked in the context. However, in most data, there is no such contrast present, but the notion of non-identity is bleached further, resulting in reference to distinct instances. In (6.77), for instance, *different* simply emphasizes the point that several distinct countries signed the pledges.

- (6.77) The agreement resulted from the pledges signed by **different countries** in favour of the world ecology during the earth summit held in June 1992 in Brazil which was attended by Mexican president Carlos Salinas De Gortari. (CB)

In these examples we find a referential notion which draws attention to the fact that the instantial set is composed of individual instances. In other words, the addition of the postdeterminer *different* shifts the focus of the denotation from the instantial set as a whole to its distinct instances; it divides up the instantial set into different instances for separate conceptual awareness. The referential function of this postdeterminer use is thus to identify the instances that compose the instantial set as individual instances.

Different thus contributes to the conceptualization of the plural instantial set: it specifies how it should be conceived, as a group of instances or as a single unit. Rijkhoff (2002: 103) refers to grammatical elements with a similar function as “nominal aspect markers”, i.e. “elements that specify the way the nominal property is represented in the spatial dimension” (Rijkhoff 2002: 103) or specify “what kind of set is involved” (Rijkhoff 2002: 104). The more specific function of postdeterminer *different* can be described as “discretization” (Langacker 2006b: 114) or individualization of the instantial set.¹⁵

This characterization of the non-phoric postdeterminer function of *different* ties in with Langacker’s analysis of plural nouns as a special type of mass nouns (Langacker 1991: 74f, 2004a: 81f, 2006b: 121f; see also Chapter 1, Section 1.2.3). According to Langacker, plural nouns designate a mass that consists of discrete entities, i.e. a “replicate mass” (Langacker 1991: 78), and it is only at a higher level of conceptualization that the very notion of replication introduces qualitative homogeneity, which is a distinctive feature of mass nouns (Langacker 2004a: 83–84). In other words, what sets plural nouns apart from uncount nouns as prototypical mass nouns is “the relative salience in plurals of individual constitutive elements” (Langacker 2004a: 83). It is precisely this aspect of the semantics of the plural NP that *different* foregrounds in examples such as (6.77).

In this context it is interesting to note that Tovenia and Van Peteghem (2006) propose a similar analysis for French *différents*. More specifically,

15. Rijkhoff (2002: 50) notes that a similar function of individualizer is performed by classifiers in languages such as Thai and Yucatec Maya. Lyons (1977: 462–463) specifies that these individualizing classifiers divide into two types, ‘sortal classifiers’, which individuate “in terms of the kind of entity”, and ‘mensural classifiers’, which individuate “in terms of quantity” (Lyons 1977: 463) (see also Silverstein 1986; McGregor 1997).

they argue that *différent* has three different interpretations in French: qualitative adjective, e.g. (6.78), individualizer, e.g. (6.79), and determiner, e.g. (6.80).

- (6.78) Pierre et Paul lisent **des livres différents**. (Tovena and Van Peteghem 2006)
 ‘Pierre and Paul are reading **different books**.’
- (6.79) Pierre a lu **les différents livres que je lui avais donnés**. (Tovena and Van Peteghem 2006)
 ‘Pierre has read the different books I gave him.’
- (6.80) Pierre a lu **différents livres**. (Tovena and Van Peteghem 2006)
 ‘Pierre has read **different books**.’

They explain the individualizing use as “en antéposition *différents* [...] met en relief la structure en parties de l’ensemble dénoté par le N [‘in prenominal position *différents* foregrounds the composition into parts of the set denoted by the noun’, translation mine]” (Tovena and Van Peteghem 2006). Moreover, they observe that this use of *différents* involves semantic bleaching of the qualitative meaning that the adjective *différent* has in postposition, e.g. (6.78). Formally, the individualizing use is characterized by loss of the possibility of submodification and by a shift from postnominal to prenominal position, which is typically reserved to determiners in French. Example (6.80) reveals that the individualizing use of *différents* is not the final stage of the adjective’s development; it undergoes an additional shift towards a primary determiner use equivalent to the indefinite plural article *des*.¹⁶ Tovena and Van Peteghem’s (2006) analysis of *différent* is hence in several respects very similar to the one I propose for English *different*. There are, however, two main differences between our analyses. Firstly, they do not interpret the (implied) development of

16. French *différents* can be analyzed as primary determiner in those NPs in which it is the sole determining element (see the discussions in Van de Velde 2000; Laca and Tasmowski 2003). In these contexts, it conforms to the defining characteristic of determiners in French which cannot co-occur with another determiner (e.g. Mitterand 1963; Chevalier 1966). The discussions of determiner *différents* do not address the question as to whether the determining value is mainly identifying or quantifying. Most of the articles appear to take it for granted that *différents* is an identifier similar to the plural indefinite article *des*. Only Van de Velde (2000) draws attention to the quantificational aspect in its meaning.

différent as an instance of grammaticalization.¹⁷ Secondly, they characterize the individualizing use of *différents* as a ‘special’ adjectival use besides the qualitative use. By analyzing it as a postdeterminer I propose that it has become part of the determiner function and that its meaning has grammaticalized and subjectified.

Returning to English then, it is important to point out that there are other adjectives of difference besides *different* that can be used as individualizing postdeterminer. In Breban (2006a, 2008b), I present a corpus study of six adjectives of difference, *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various*, which includes the analysis of synchronic as well as diachronic data. In this chapter, I will report on the results of the synchronic corpus study only. The complementary diachronic investigation will be discussed in Chapter 11. The synchronic data base used in Breban (2006a, 2008b) contains for each of the six adjectives a set of 200 examples randomly extracted from the COBUILD corpus via the Collins WordbanksOnline service. The analysis of these synchronic data samples reveals that four of the six adjectives, *different*, *distinct*, *diverse*, and *various*, have an individualizing postdeterminer use in Present-day English. Examples (6.81–6.83) illustrate this type of postdeterminer use for the three adjectives that are not part of the core data base under consideration in this chapter, for *distinct*, *diverse*, and *various*.

- (6.81) Ethiopia is really many nations, **many distinct groups**, which have been dominated by a central government. (CB)
- (6.82) These Euro-tidbits, found in a 500-page yearbook released by the European Union’s statistics office after 10 years of research show just how far the EU has to go to achieve its grand design of uniting **the diverse peoples** of the continent. (CB)
- (6.83) From one country to another or even in **various districts** within a country, a plant may be known by two or more common names. (CB)

17. Laca and Tasmowski (2003) do suggest a diachronic path from adjective to determiner for *différent(s)*, albeit not in the framework of grammaticalization theory. They explain the determiner use as the result of a process of specialization (Laca and Tasmowski 2003: 160). It has to be noted, that they, contrary to Tovenia and Van Peteghem (2006), analyze all examples of prenominal *différents* as determiners and do not distinguish a prenominal individualizing use.

This more extensive data analysis reveals that the individualizing post-determiner use is naturally associated with contexts in which the different instances composing the instantial set are in some way individually focused on. Three such discourse contexts were singled out. First, individualizing postdeterminers are often found in combination with a cardinal number or a schematic absolute quantifier such as *many*, as in (6.84).

- (6.84) The mechanical line-up came from **three different manufacturers**.
(CB)

As pointed out by Rijkhoff (2002: 50) and Langacker (1991: 77), only discrete instances can be counted in this way by absolute quantifiers. Secondly, in examples such as (6.85) the following discourse picks up on the individual entities designated by the plural NP. In most examples the instances in question are enumerated.

- (6.85) The same hull is offered in two lengths: 25 ft (7.62 m) and 27 ft (8.23 m). **Three distinct construction alternatives** are on offer: all wood, all GRP, or composit'-a timber superstructure on a GRP hull. (CB)

The third context in which the distinct instances may be focused on is illustrated by example (6.86).

- (6.86) Five experts on **different zones** of the body are waiting to answer your queries in person on our Health Works Hotline. (CB)

In examples of this kind, there is another plural element present in the context that interacts with the plurality expressed by the NP. The post-determiner indicates that one instance denoted by the NP is associated with one of the entities designated by the other plural element, another instance with another one of the entities, etc. In example (6.86), for instance, each of the five experts is an expert on one particular zone of the body. The clause as a whole hence requires a distributive interpretation similar to the singular NP variant of this internal pattern illustrated in example (6.75) *The menu also features a different flavor of "Homestead-made" ice cream every night*.

In the literature, this distributive reading has been the subject of a number of studies building and commenting on each other (Carlson 1987; Moltmann 1992; Beck 2000; Laca and Tasmowski 2001; Tovená and Van Peteghem 2002). The main aim of these studies was to determine which element in the semantic context creates the distributive effect and functions as 'licensing factor'. For the purposes of this study, the exact characterization of the licensing elements is outside the focus of attention.

However, it is necessary to react against one of the conceptions underlying this quest, the assumption that these distributive uses constitute a separate category that can be dealt with without relating them to other post-determiner uses. In my opinion, the distributive use is simply a variant of the individualizing postdeterminer use, which can be triggered by certain elements in the context.¹⁸

I will conclude this section with one final observation regarding the type of NPs that these postdeterminer uses occur in. The data show that they are mainly restricted to indefinite NPs. A possible explanation for their absence in definite NPs could be that it is no longer deemed necessary to mark the instances denoted by the NP as separate instances in NPs with definite reference, as the instances are by definition 'known' instances. In the few examples in which a definite determiner is supplemented by a postdeterminer indicating plurality, definite identification is moreover often used because the instances can be identified on the basis of the information given in the NP itself rather than because they have already been identified in the discourse. Example (6.82) above (reproduced here as 6.87) is a case in point.

- (6.87) These Euro-tidbits, found in a 500-page yearbook released by the European Union's statistics office after 10 years of research show just how far the EU has to go to achieve its grand design of uniting **the diverse peoples** of the continent. (CB)
- (6.88) Irritating nonentities aside, though, the remaining members of Urban Species now succeed in pouring their politically correct hippy idealism into a delightful lithe hotch-potch of hip-hop, jazz and soul with some toasting thrown in for good measure. Partying in the same fields as PM Dawn and De La Soul, the Urbanites occasionally trip over their own eclecticism – smoochy wine bar soul ballad 'Spiritual Love' loses the plot somewhat when it sops for a bit of reggae rap. Mostly, however, **the various elements** blend seamlessly into a colourful and smoothly sophisticated jazz rap that owes as much to Aretha as Gil Scott heron and Arrested Development. (CB)

18. The close relation between the two interpretations is recognized by Tovená and Van Peteghem (2002), who group the two together under one heading, but they place them on an equal footing, while it is argued here that the individualizing reading is the overarching interpretation and the distributive reading a contextually determined subtype.

In other examples with definite identification such as (6.88), it is the separate instances rather than the set that have already been identified in the discourse and the role of the postdeterminer in the second definite NP is to indicate that the set denoted by the NP subsumes the different instances that have already been pointed out.

6.6.1.2. *Different as individualizing postdeterminer in singular NPs*

In a small set of examples such as (6.89) *different* is used as individualizing postdeterminer in a singular NP.

- (6.89) First of all it was Mark who was apparently being seen in the company of an attractive woman – sometimes **a different one** three times in a week. If he attended a party without the Princess, it set off a storm of speculation, both at home and even more so abroad. (CB)

In example (6.89), *different* expresses that Mark was being linked with several distinct attractive women (even in the course of a single week). The use of postdeterminer *different* makes it possible for the singular NP to engage in a distributive relation with a plural or pluralizing element in the context, in this case the adverbial specification *three times in a week*. In combination with such a plural element, *different* conveys that the singular NP refers to a plural set of individual instances that each interact independently with one element from the plural context. The function of *different* in this kind of NP is very similar to that in plural NPs involved in distributive interaction, e.g. (6.86) *five experts on different zones of the body*. However, it has to be remarked that in these singular NPs, the actual value of *different* is not so much individualization (the fact that individual instances are concerned is presupposed in the singular NP), as multiplication, through the establishment of distributive interaction.

Of the six adjectives I studied in Breban (2006a, 2008b), one other adjective besides *different* was found to function as distributive postdeterminer in singular NPs, *distinct*, e.g. (6.90).

- (6.90) As at Hidcote, the garden here is divided into a sequence of compartments, each with **a distinct theme**. (CB)

6.6.1.3. *Reconstructing the semantic shift from individualizing postdeterminer to quantifier*

As shown in Table 6.1, the data for *different* contain a few bridging examples (three), in which, besides the individualizing postdeterminer meaning,

a second possible interpretation can be given to *different*, that of a quantifier signalling an unspecified not too large number of instances, e.g. (6.91).

- (6.91) “Is it the same person all the time that comes to do your washing and your bath and make your bed?” “Oh no. There’s one or two of them. There’s **different ones**.” (CB)

In this example, it is not clear whether *different* actually quantifies the instances or only specifies that the instantial set consists of distinct individuals without giving an indication of its size. In the former case the example can be paraphrased as ‘*Oh no. There’s one or two of them. There’s several ones*, or, *There’s more than one*’ and *different ones* then continues the quantitative specification given in the previous sentence. In the latter case, *different* picks up on the question whether it is *the same person* who comes every day and expresses that this is not the case. Here, *different* is used as a postdeterminer expressing non-identity. Bridging examples such as (6.91) are interpreted as evidence for a semantic evolution in the semantics of adjectives like *different* from expressing non-identity between the instances in one instantial set, i.e. individualizing them, to giving a size specification of the set.

Langacker’s (1991: 84) description of the size evaluation given by another adjective of difference, *several*, is revealing in this respect:

The range for *several* begins with three, and although it has no precise upper limit, its use becomes tenuous if there are more component entities than one can simultaneously hold in mind as individuals (Langacker 1991: 84)

This valuation helps us grasp the conceptual connection between the postdeterminer and quantifier meanings of *several* and similar adjectives such as *different*: it suggests that their quantifier value has been determined by their individualizing meaning. The suggested semantic change from individualizing to quantifier hence displays “persistence”, i.e. the outcome of a grammaticalization process is determined and constrained by the source semantics of the grammaticalizing item (Hopper 1991: 28–30).

The data for some of the other adjectives of difference studied in Breban (2006a, 2008b) such as *diverse* and *various* also included examples in which the adjective can be interpreted both as individualizer and as quantifier, e.g. (6.92) with *various*.

- (6.92) At one point, Kubrick toyed with the idea of revealing the alien architects of the monoliths. The effects team tried out **various experiments** to bring the aliens to life, including test footage that showed them to be sentient columns of light. In the end, the idea

was abandoned and the only indication of extraterrestrial life in the film is the incessant chattering of alien tongues as Bowman explores the antique room prepared for him to await his rebirth as a Star Child. (CB)

In (6.92), both a postdeterminer and a quantifier reading of *various* are possible and are supported by contextual elements. On the one hand, *various* can be seen as individualizing the instantial set so that one specific experiment, showing the aliens as “sentient columns of light” can be singled out. On the other hand, the gist of the example appears to be that even though the effects team tried out several things, no good enough solution for the presentation of the aliens was found. *Various* can then be read as a quantifier signalling that an unspecified number of experiments was carried out.

In the OED it is also observed that *divers* (OED Vol. 3: 549) and *various* (OED Vol. 12: 54) can be vague between an individualizing reading and a quantifier reading (see Denison 2006: 297–299). For *divers*, for example, its only meaning in current English is described as “various, sundry, several; more than one, some number of. Referring originally and in form to the variety of objects; but, as variety implies number, becoming an indefinite numeral word expressing multiplicity, without committing the speaker to ‘many’ or ‘few’” (OED Vol. 3: 549). Then a further distinction is made between examples “with the notion of *variety* the more prominent: Different, various” and those “with that of *indefinite number* more prominent: Several, sundry”, but it is remarked that “in many cases the notions are equally present” (OED Vol. 3: 549). For two other adjectives studied in Breban (2006a, 2008b), *several* and *sundry*, which are predominantly used as quantifiers in Present-day English, the OED states that the individualizing meaning “merged in” the quantifying one; for *sundry* it is stated that the now obsolete meaning equivalent to “Various, (many) different” “merged in” its use as “an indefinite numeral: A number of, several” which is its prevailing use in current English (OED Vol. 10: 159). For *several*, the OED likewise notes that the meaning “A number of different; various, divers, sundry” has “merged” in its chief current sense “As a vague numeral: Of an indefinite (but not large) number exceeding two or three”. It is further noted that “In earlier instances that may be brought under this definition, it is difficult to determine how far the sense of ‘different, various’ remains” (OED Vol. 9: 568). The discussions of several adjectives of difference in the OED hence seem to be

aware of the existence of bridging examples and back up the idea that the quantifier meaning developed from the adjectives' use as individualizers in general.

Having established that bridging examples allowing for both an individualizing postdeterminer and a quantifier reading occur in synchronic and diachronic data,¹⁹ we can now use them to try and reconstruct the semantic shift that may have led from the one to the other. As remarked in Section 6.6.1.1, one of the contexts in which the individualizing postdeterminer use frequently occurs is the combination with an absolute quantifier. I attributed this co-occurrence to the fact that absolute quantification requires discreteness, i.e. "only discrete entities can be enumerated" (Rijkhoff 2002: 50). As pointed out by Langacker (1991: 77, 2006b: 119), any plural NP designates a "particulate mass" (Langacker 2006b: 119) and discreteness is part of the conceptual structure of any plural NP. The individualizing postdeterminer further emphasizes that the hearer has to conceive of the instantial set as consisting of individual or discrete instances. Combining these observations, I suggest that the shift from individualizing the instantial set to specifying its size happened in NPs in which there was no other absolute quantifier, but in which the size of the instantiation somehow matters, as in (6.92) *the effects team tried out various experiments to bring the aliens to life*. In these cases, the idea of discreteness, which is part of the meaning of the plural noun anyway, could be taken to be implied in the plural form of the NP only rather than made explicit by the adjective of difference. This opens up the possibility for the adjective to be interpreted as measuring the size of the instantiation instead. In other words, the adjective could take on this new quantifier meaning because its individualizing postdeterminer use only emphasizes a particular aspect of the meaning of the plural NP and is hence technically redundant with it. The new interpretation is the result of pragmatic extension from the individualizing postdeterminer use through the close conceptual association of discreteness and absolute quantification, reflected in the frequent co-occurrence of individualizing postdeterminers and absolute quantifiers.

19. Denison (2010: 114–116) establishes on the basis of a search in the British National Corpus that the structure consisting only of 'adjective of difference + noun', which allows for both a postdeterminer and a quantifier interpretation, is in fact the most frequent structural pattern for *several* and *various* in Present-day English.

6.6.2. Quantifier uses of *different*, *several* and *various*

The status of the quantifier use as an independent meaning is confirmed by the presence of examples in which the quantifier meaning is the only possible reading of the adjectives. In the data for *other* and *different*, the core data set on which the discussion in the present chapter is based, there are only very few quantifier examples. In fact, *other* is never used in this way, which confirms the idea that the two structural contexts, external versus internal comparison, have been involved in independent grammaticalization paths. If it is accepted that the quantifier use develops through further grammaticalization from the NP-internal postdeterminer use, which is never expressed by *other*, *other* cannot have developed the quantifier use either. The data base for *different* does include a few data in which the adjective seems to function basically as absolute quantifier, a use not (yet) recognized in dictionaries and grammar books. Take for instance (6.93).

- (6.93) I won the award for best junior bird in the show. I was so happy: the first show I entered, and I won a trophy! Since then I have shown many other birds and taken prizes at **different shows**. (CB)

Different in (6.93) expresses that the speaker has won prizes at a number of shows and is paraphrasable by other absolute quantifiers indicating an indeterminate number such as *several* or *many*. Yet, because the number of quantifier examples is so restricted (there are only 4 (see Table 6.1)), a well-founded discussion of the quantifier use has to be based on other adjectives of difference besides *different*. Therefore, I will present the findings concerning five other adjectives of difference, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *various*, *several*, and *sundry*, in Breban (2006a, 2008b). I will argue that four of these adjectives, that is, all except *distinct*, can function as quantifier in the NP. However, only two adjectives, *several* and *various*, have a fully-fledged quantifier use, which I will focus on in the following discussion.

Examples (6.94) and (6.95) illustrate the quantifier meaning that can be expressed by *several* and *various*.

- (6.94) It is a light room with tall windows overlooking the patio and some far from industrious builders on the roof of a neighbouring building. There is a wall of mirror-doored wardrobes, and old, leather-topped desk, a freestanding mirror and **several chintz-covered chairs** over which are flung large, wool, deep-coloured paisley shawls. (CB)

- (6.95) There were **various points** along the way when she could have chosen not to work, to concentrate upon friendships and her health. (CB)

In examples (6.93), (6.94), and (6.95), the adjectives of difference can be paraphrased as “more than one” and they can be said to denote an unspecified plural amount. As noted in Section 6.6.1.3, Langacker (1991) has specifically described *several* as designating a schematic number ranging from three to \pm seven, as it must remain possible to “simultaneously hold the entities in mind as individuals” (Langacker 1991: 84).

As this first characterization shows, the semantics of the quantifier uses of *different*, *several* and *various* are those of absolute quantification: the adjectives ‘count’ the instances of the referential set. The adjectives hence express a similar meaning to cardinal numbers and other quantifiers such as *many*, *numerous* and *few*. With the latter, they further share the fact that the designated number is not precise. The quantifier meaning of *different*, *several* and *various* is especially akin to that of *some*, which refers to an unspecified amount larger than one.

In Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.4.3), I proposed that these quantifier uses function as grounding predications similar to *some* and argued that they are part of a continuum of indefinite grounding predications ranging from the zero article over determiners expressing indeterminate quantification such as *some* to the cardinal numbers. All of these involve the same grounding meaning, a correspondence relation between type and instances (Davidse 2004), and are ordered in terms of increasing quantificational specificity, with the zero article only implying that the instantial set “has a size” (Davidse 2004: 218) at one end and the cardinal numbers giving a discrete measurement of the magnitude of the instantial set at the other end. As observed by Davidse (2004: 220), one major difference between indefinite determiners and absolute quantifiers is that, the latter can combine with definite determiners. In the data investigated in Breban (2006a, 2008b), there is only one adjective that occurs as quantifier in examples with definite identification, *several*. Although its quantifier use is by and large restricted to indefinite NPs (see Lyons 1999: 36), there are a few examples of *several* in the data that contain a definite determiner, e.g. (6.96).

- (6.96) In **the several years immediately after a divorce**, children become more defiant, more negative, more aggressive or depressed or angry. If they are of school age, their school performance typically drops for at least a while. (CB-US books subcorpus)

However, these examples appear to be subject to a stylistic restriction. In the COBUILD corpus, *the several* occurs predominantly in written texts and higher registers such as the 'US books' subcorpus in which example (6.96) is found.

It is no coincidence that the only adjective of difference occurring as quantifier in definite NPs is *several*. In contrast with the other adjectives such as *various* and *different*, the quantifier use is its main use in current English (see OED Vol. 9: 568). Moreover, as I argued in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.2), *several* has many properties typical of absolute quantifiers, i.e. it is generally viewed as an absolute quantifier on a par with *many* and the cardinal numbers (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 262) and it manifests paradigmaticization (Lehmann 1985: 309; 1995: 135f). In addition to the absolute quantifier use conveying an unspecified number of instances, illustrated in (6.94), *several* can express two derived quantifier meanings similar to other absolute quantifiers such as *many* and the cardinal numbers.

Firstly, in a small set of examples such as (6.97), *several* does not specify the size of the instantial set, but seems to modify another quantifier.

- (6.97) **Several thousand Romanians** have taken part in an anti-government rally in the city of Timisoara. (CB)

In (6.97), *several* expresses that the number of Romanians that took part in the rally is an unspecified multiple of thousand. As (6.98) illustrates, established absolute quantifiers such as *many* pattern in the same way. For the cardinal numbers, e.g. (6.99), it is the ordinary construction to describe multiples of hundred, thousand, etc. and the combination is considered a single cardinal number in its own right.

- (6.98) Level 3 is a serious incident with radioactive release, but you get up to Level 7 for something like Chernobyl, which spewed **many million times** more radioactivity into the atmosphere, which ultimately affected much of Eastern and Western Europe. (CB)
- (6.99) **Four thousand babies** are born in the Maternity Unit each year. (CB)

Several hence can be argued to form one quantifier unit together with *thousand* exactly like *four thousand* in (6.99).

Secondly, there are some examples such as (6.100) and (6.101), in which *several* does not express absolute quantification, but relative quantification.

- (6.100) LUCK-BAKER: Do you think it's possible that we might be seeing these particular diseases actually moving into now what are temperate regions, such as Europe, or maybe the USA.
 WOOLHOUSE: Well, that question is actually a very good question because **several important vector born diseases** are, or have been endemic in Europe already. (CB)
- (6.101) The whole area has quality fishing for wild trout while course fishing is available in **several of the larger lochs**. (CB)

In these examples, *several* does not measure the instantial set directly, but delineates it as a portion of a larger contextually defined set, the instantial mass M_T . Or in Cognitive Grammar terms (Langacker 1991: 107; Davidse 2004: 209), it takes the actually predicated mass from a reference mass, M_T . The instantial mass M_T is mostly explicitly described in a postmodifying *of*-phrase, as in (6.101) in the data. Only in a few examples, M_T is mentioned elsewhere in the discourse context, as in (6.100).

6.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the different uses of adjectives of difference on the basis of corpus studies of two core adjectives, *other* and *different*. The findings from these studies confirm the grammaticalization hypothesis proposed in Chapter 4. The bridging examples in the data samples allowed me to reconstruct possible semantic shifts between the attribute and postdeterminer uses, the postdeterminer and classifier uses, the postdeterminer and quantifier uses.

Detailed investigation of the different uses suggested the existence of two grammaticalization paths depending on the construal of the comparative relation. When the comparative relation involved a separate comparative element, i.e. external construal, the development is from 'the sharing of no/few features' (X is (very) different from Y) to the expression of a phoric relation of non-identity (X is another instance of the same type as Y). When the comparison is internal to the NP, the shift is from sharing no/few features ((very) different Xs) to individualizing postdeterminer (individual Xs) to quantifier (several Xs). The analysis of the data for *other* and *different* also suggested that the two adjectives do not both express all these different uses, but have followed different grammaticalization trajectories. *Other* can only construe external, i.e. phoric, relations of

non-identity. Even though *different* has an external grammatical use as part of the grounding predication *a different*, this use is both functionally and quantitatively restricted. The majority of its postdeterminer uses realizes internal comparison and functions as individualizer of the instantial set. In addition to *different*, other semantically similar adjectives such as *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various* appear to be moving along the same path of grammaticalization from lexical attribute expressing internal unlikeness to individualizer to absolute quantifier. Some of them such as *several* have developed a fully-fledged quantifier use in current English.

7. Adjectives of identity

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will deal with the adjectives that are situated at the opposite end of the scale of likeness from the adjectives of difference, the adjectives of identity. Again the discussion will be based on the systematic analysis of corpus data for two core adjectives, *same* and *identical*. The corpus samples consist of 400 examples of *same* and *identical*, randomly extracted from the COBUILD corpus. These examples were analyzed in terms of the same functions as the adjectives of difference in the preceding chapter. Table 7.1 summarizes the findings of this corpus analysis.

As the figures indicate, the two adjectives behave very differently with regard to the main functions of the suggested grammaticalization path, predicate and attribute, and postdeterminer. As shown in Table 7.1, only *identical* has predicative and attribute uses. *Same*, by contrast, has only one main use, as postdeterminer signalling identity of reference. Just like *other* in the field of difference, *same* displays grammatical uses only. It always occurs in combination with a definite determiner (*the* and demonstratives) and definite determiner + *same* are felt to be a single functional unit (OED Vol. 9: 74).

It should be noted that this typical combination of definite determiner and adjective has characterized *same* from its earliest uses in English. The OED (Vol. 9: 75) cites only one, late, example of predicative use without article, reproduced here as (7.1).

(7.1) 1891 *Pall Mall G.* 3 Feb. 6/2 The choruses in “Judith” are numerous, and to the lay mind perhaps **a little same**. (OED Vol. 9: 75)

But the lateness of this example suggests that this use has to be viewed as a re-lexicalizing back-formation. It thus appears to be the case that *same* never had any lexical uses in English and therefore cannot be said to have been subject to progressive grammaticalization in the history of English.¹ Hence, the adjectives of identity do not straightforwardly

1. According to the etymological information available in the OED (Vol. 9: 74), *same* was originally an Indo-Germanic word, reconstructed as **somo*. This word is related to the Sanskrit word *samá* (‘level’, ‘equal’, ‘same’), which is evidence that the source of *same* had a lexical semantics.

Table 7.1. Quantitative overview of the synchronic corpus studies of *same* and *identical*

	same		identical	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
predicative	0		149	37.25%
prenominal	400	100%	236	59%
attribute	0		99	24.75%
lexical classifier	0		60	15%
postdeterminer	357	89.25%	58	14.5%
quantifier	0		0	
phoric classifier	0		8	2%
attribute-postdeterminer	0		11	2.75%
postdeterminer-quantifier	0		0	
complex conjunctive adverbial	43	10.75%	0	
postnominal	0		15	3.75%
attribute	0		13	3.25%
postdeterminer	0		2	0.5%
complex preposition	0		0	
total	400	100%	400	100%

fit in with the grammaticalization hypothesis as it was formulated in Chapter 4.

In the course of this chapter, I will on the basis of systematic analysis of the different uses of *same* and *identical* explain step by step how the grammaticalization hypothesis has to be modified to account for the development that the data for the adjectives of identity suggest. In accordance with the logic of grammaticalization, I will start with the uses that can be argued to constitute the input for the grammaticalization process (Sections 7.2 and 7.3) and then move on to postdeterminer and phoric classifier uses (Sections 7.4 to 7.7).

7.2. Lexical uses of *identical*

In the examples in which *identical* has a lexical meaning, it expresses full descriptive likeness, e.g. (7.2) and (7.3).

- (7.2) As all things are made of atoms, and atoms of the same class are **identical**, it follows that similar associations of atoms to that which forms the Earth may also form elsewhere in the void. (CB)
- (7.3) I walked along Amaliegade a majestic street full of sly passages opening into a network of courtyards and stood at the entrance of the royal square, which is composed of **four identical, but separate rococo palaces** that between them make up the queen's residence. (CB)

In these examples, *identical* designates that the entities being compared, the atoms in (7.2) and the four palaces in (7.3), are completely alike. As such, *identical* occupies the left end of the continuum of descriptive likeness represented in Figure 6.1 (reproduced here as Figure 7.1): it conveys that the entities being compared share all features.

qualitative features shared by compared entities			
all	many	few	none
identity	similarity	difference	difference
adjectives of comparison			

Figure 7.1. Continuum of descriptive likeness

More precisely, *identical* expresses that the entities share all features **from the point of view from which they are considered**. This can mean literally all features, as in (7.2) and (7.3), or a more restricted set of relevant features, e.g. (7.4) and (7.5).

- (7.4) The control surfaces are **identical** in size, feel, and resistance to movements of the zoom ring in either the power or manual mode, and the size and 'feel' of the focusing rings when being used for manual focusing are also identical. (CB)
- (7.5) For instance some flu strains are **identical** apart from the arrangement of sugars on their surface, and this gives them their different virulence. (CB)

The number of shared features can further be increased or decreased by the addition of submodifiers, e.g. (7.6) and (7.7).

- (7.6) A study to be published tomorrow in the journal *Science* found the compound is **virtually identical** to natural bone crystals. (CB)
- (7.7) Sheep were incubating scrapie, another type of the disease, which may have been transmitted to cattle – where it took **an almost identical form**. (CB)

As these examples illustrate, *identical* always combines with totality modifiers such as *virtually* and *almost* (Paradis 1997, 2001).²

In the data, the likeness meaning of *identical* is found in predicative as well as in attribute construal (see Table 7.1) and can be set up as internal as well as external comparison. Examples (7.8–7.11) illustrate the different possibilities.

- (7.8) Finally a suitable donor became available on March 14 this year and Sir Roy – one of the world's leading transplant surgeons – decided to go ahead with the multiple operation. The procedure was **almost identical** to the final one performed on tragic five-year-old Laura Davies in Pittsburgh before she died last November. (CB)
- (7.9) Two men can be **identical** with respect to their masculinity and sexual potency, yet one can be normally fertile and the other have a zero sperm count. (CB)
- (7.10) That, in turn, could open up the possibility of a dictator cloning **an identical successor** from his own cells. (CB)
- (7.11) There was an initial confusion with our bags, as **two identical sets of brand new luggage** arrived at the same time. (CB)

In examples (7.8) and (7.9) *identical* is used as predicative adjective with external and internal construal respectively. Examples (7.10) and (7.11) illustrate the same types of construal for the attribute use.

2. Contrary to Paradis (1997, 2001), who analyzes *identical* as a 'limit adjective', i.e. an adjective that is "not associated with a scale but conceptualized in terms of "either ... or"" (Paradis 2001: 52), the conceptualization of *identical* as one endpoint of a scale of descriptive likeness proposed here suggests that *identical* is an 'extreme adjective', i.e. an adjective that "represents the ultimate point on a scale" (Paradis 2001: 52).

With regard to the attribute uses in the data sample, one important observation needs to be made. Nearly all of them are part of indefinite NPs. Out of 99 attribute examples, only six contain NPs with definite identification (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2. Attribute uses of *identical*

	numbers	%
attribute in definite NP	93	93.93%
attribute in indefinite NP	6	6.07%
total of attribute uses	99	100%

One of these examples is included here as (7.12).

- (7.12) Anthony had been in Oflag XXXIII for three months, a camp set in wooded country between Brunswick and Magdeburg. This was his third camp, smaller than some. About one thousand officers shared **the twenty identical wooden huts**. (CB)

In Section 7.2.4, I will consider the implications of the low proportion of definite attribute data, but first I will describe another lexical use of *identical* in the data base.

Besides attribute and predicate, there is another use of *identical* that is concerned with descriptive likeness: its lexical classifier use designating a type of twins, *identical twins*, as in (7.13). In this expression, *identical* refers to full genetic likeness.

- (7.13) Prof Nick Martin says there is nothing mystical about the similarities in the lives of **identical twins**. (CB)

Identical has to be analyzed as a classifier rather than an attribute in this combination because it does not attribute the feature ‘full genetic likeness’ to particular instances of twins. Rather this feature has been entrenched in the language community as a relevant subtype in the classification of twins.

In so far as the lexical meaning of *identical* is descriptive likeness, its situation seems analogous to that of *different*, which also conveys likeness when used as predicate or attribute. For *different*, I argued in Chapter 6 that this likeness lexical meaning underwent grammaticalization via the

attribute use towards the more grammatical meaning of referential non-identity. Although the data for *identical* appear to provide the same input for grammaticalization, there are several factors that contradict such a grammaticalization interpretation of adjectives of identity.

Firstly, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, *same*, according to the OED (Vol. 9: 74–76) has never expressed a lexical meaning in English, but has always functioned as part of the unit definite determiner + *same*. Hence, neither the data studied here nor the OED provide any indications supporting grammaticalization within English from lexical attribute to postdeterminer use for *same*.

The second complicating factor is the fact that the lexical attribute uses of *identical* are largely restricted to NPs with indefinite identification in the data. As indicated in Table 7.2, they constitute 93.93% of all attribute uses. Yet, its original semantics appear to be naturally geared to expressing identifiability, i.e. definite identification, rather than non-identifiability, as is underlined by the fact that *same* always occurs in combination with a definite determiner. Along the same line, all bridging examples in which *identical* allows either an interpretation as lexical attribute or as postdeterminer are restricted to NPs with indefinite identification, as in (7.14).

- (7.14) Of course, the Crown and the convicted citizen do not have **identical rights of appeal**, neither do they have to satisfy the same tests before the Court of Appeal. (CB)

In (7.14), *identical* in *not . . . identical rights of appeal* can be interpreted as meaning that the rights of appeal of the Crown and the convict are characterized by different features, i.e. they are qualitatively different. In this reading, *identical* has a predicative alternate and can be submodified by for example *completely*. However, it is also possible to interpret *identical* as a postdeterminer conveying that the two parties do not have the same rights of appeal, but each have a distinct set of rights. Even though bridging examples such as this confirm a possible semantic shift from likeness to referential identity, the question remains where the typical postdeterminer use in definite NPs came from. Again, this seems to suggest that the combinations *the* + postdeterminer *same* and *the* + postdeterminer *identical* may have developed in a different way. In the next section, I will discuss another use of *identical* and *same* mentioned in the OED, their emphazier use, and propose that it is in fact this use that lies at the basis of the referential identity meaning in definite NPs.

7.3. The emphasizer use of *same* and *identical* in definite NPs as source of grammaticalization

The entries for *identical* and *same* in the OED are instructive with regard to a possible origin of the referential identity meaning of adjectives of identity in definite NPs. Rather remarkably, in the entry for *identical* the lexical likeness meaning paraphrased as “agreeing entirely in material, constitution, properties, qualities, or meaning” (OED Vol. 5: 18) is cited only as second meaning. The first meaning given for *identical* is “the same, the very same” (OED Vol. 5: 18) and it is noted that in this sense the adjective is often emphasized by *same* or *very*. Some examples illustrating this meaning of *identical* are (7.15–7.18).

- (7.15) **a1633** AUSTIN *Medit.* (1635) 36 The Spirit ... leades not every man in **the same identicall path**. (OED Vol. 5: 18)
- (7.16) **1664** BUTLER *Hud.* II. i. 149 The Beard’s **th’ Identick Beard** you knew. (OED Vol. 5: 18)³
- (7.17) **1809** MALKIN *Gil Blas* IV. IX. 4 This is **the very identical man**. (OED Vol. 5: 18)
- (7.18) **c1811** FUSELI in *Lect. Paint.* V. (1848) 465 **The identic owner of those crutches**. (OED Vol. 5: 18)

In these examples *identical* confirms the identification of the referent: the referent the hearer can be presumed to have in mind is signalled to be the right one. Another common feature of these examples is that *identic(al)* is redundant to a certain extent: it only emphasizes the identification rather than establishing it.

The entry for *same* (OED Vol. 9: 74–76) also discusses a number of emphasizing uses. The first meaning that is listed is “forward reference” “followed by a clause with relative pronoun or relative adverb” (OED Vol. 9: 74), as in (7.19).

- (7.19) **c1200** ORMIN 9914 He mihhte makenn cwiike menn þær off
þa same staness, þat stodenn þær bi Sannt Johan.
(OED Vol. 9: 74)
‘He could make living men there of **the same stones**, that stood there by Saint Johan.’

3. The form *identic* is a formal variant of the medieval Latin adjective *identicus* similar to *identical* and can express the same emphasizing meaning as *identical* (OED Vol. 5: 18).

In this example, which is the earliest citation for *same* both in the OED and the MED (Vol. 18: 66), *same* functions in the same way as *identick* in (7.16): it emphasizes the identification made in the following relative clause. Like *identical*, *same* is noted to often co-occur with “a synonymous adjective: †*that ilk (thilk) same*, †*the same self*, †*the same very*, *the very same*” (OED Vol. 9: 75), e.g. (7.20–7.21).

(7.20) 1390 GOWER *Conf.* I. 95 **Thilke same speche Which**, as thou seist, thou shalt me teche. (OED Vol. 9: 75)
‘The very same speech Which, as you say, you shall teach me.’

(7.21) 1594 SHAKS. *Rich. III.* III. li. 49 **This same very day**. (OED Vol. 9: 75)

The OED (Vol. 9: 75) notes that *same* can also be “appended redundantly to a demonstrative” (OED Vol. 9: 75), e.g. (7.22–7.23), that is, it emphasizes the identification rather than adding things to it.

(7.22) 1340–1370 *Alex. & Dind.* 197 In **pis same wise**. (OED Vol. 9: 75)
‘In this same way’

(7.23) (c1385) Chaucer *CT.Kn.A.1784*: He gan to loken vp . . . And spak **thise same wordes** . . . ‘The god of loue, a benedictee, [etc.].’ (MED Vol. 18: 66)
‘He began to look up and spoke **these same words**. ‘The god of love, a blessing’

Finally, *the same* may be added to a proper name, which in its own suffices to put the hearer in contact with the person referred to (OED Vol. 9: 74; MED Vol. 18: 66–67), e.g. (7.24–7.25).

(7.24) (c1390) Chaucer *CT.Mel.B.2640*: As **the same Senek** seith, [etc.]. (MED Vol. 18: 67)
‘As **the same Senek** says, [etc.].’

(7.25) (c1436) *Paston* 2.5: Wychyngham . . . as þe seid Tebald infourmeth me, come to **þe same Tebaldes hows**. (MED Vol. 18: 67)
‘Wychyngham . . . as the said Tebald informed me, came to **the same Tebald’s house**.’

Even though *the same* is technically redundant in (7.24) and (7.25), its function seems to be more than simply emphasizing the identification. As indicated in the OED, *the same* appears to be equivalent to “the afore-said” (OED Vol. 9: 74) and it thus specifies that the person named by the NP has already been mentioned in the previous discourse, i.e. it indicates

an anaphoric relation of identity. Examples such as these hence display semantic extension from emphasizing use to phoric postdeterminer use.

The emphasizer use is in fact often difficult to distinguish from true phoric uses. It is only when the type descriptions of antecedent and NP differ that *the same* is necessary to establish co-referentiality between the two referents, as in (7.26).

- (7.26) c1400(c1378) PP1B (Ld) 20.223: ‘By Marie,’ quod a mansed preste of þe marche of yrlonde, ‘I counte namore conscience’... And so seide sixty of **þe same** [*vr. sane*] **contreye**.
(MED Vol. 18: 67)
‘By Mary,’ said an excommunicated priest of the march of Ireland, ‘I do not value conscience any more’... And so said sixty of **the same country**.’

My contemporary data also generally seem to combine the emphasizing use with a phoric function. The adjectives still occur in the specific contexts associated with emphasizer use in the OED, such as in data with forward reference to a restrictive relative clause (7.27), in combination with a demonstrative (7.28), or another emphasizer such as *very* (7.29), or a proper name (7.30). At the same time, the NPs in examples such as (7.27–7.30) always engage in a phoric relation (as signaled by the underlined antecedent).

- (7.27) Ironically, One Man’s fatal fall came at **the identical fence which caused the retirement of another great grey, Desert Orchid**. (CB)
- (7.28) Fourteen years ago the soft drink company, looking for a barn-stormer to carry on a tradition begun in the early 1930s, sifted through some three-thousand applicants for a skywriter, and chose a 21 year old woman pilot from Oregon. Today **that same woman**, Suzanne Asbury-Oliver, flies over some twenty of thirty times a year, heralding rodeos, fairs and festivals. (CB)
- (7.29) Lace has been made in Nottingham since 1589. This proud tradition continues with our lace blouse which is not only based on a Victorian original, but the lace is made on **the very same machines that were in use in the 1890’s**. (CB)
- (7.30) They lost one game because Vince Coleman forgot to take his sunglasses out to left field. They lost their best pitcher, Dwight Gooden sp for a start because **the same Vince Coleman** decided he wanted to practice his golf swing in the clubhouse. (CB)

The data discussed above suggest that *same* and *identical* were first used as emphasizers in definite NPs and then extended to postdeterminer uses establishing co-referentiality. I want to make the more specific claim that the referential identity meaning of the adjectives of identity originates in their emphasizer use and developed from it through a process of grammaticalization.⁴ The emphasizer use itself is a grammatical use. It has a functional value and as shown in (7.18)bis it cannot be graded or construed predicatively.

(7.18) c1811 FUSELI in *Lect. Paint.* V. (1848) 465 **The identic owner of those crutches.** (OED Vol. 5: 18)

(7.18) bis a ***the completely identic owner of those crutches**

(7.18) bis b ***the owner of those crutches is identic**

This means that the input of the suggested grammaticalization process from emphasizer to postdeterminer use is a grammatical element already. As such the process is one of secondary grammaticalization.

Semantically, the hypothesized process involves a shift from emphasizing identification to aiding/establishing identification or from using the notion of identity to stress identification to employing it for referential purposes. As noted above, this shift may have proceeded via contexts such as the combination with a proper name in (7.24) *the same Senek* and (7.25) *the same Tebaldes hows*, in which *the same* on the one hand emphasizes that the referent is indeed *Senek* or *Tebald* and on the other hand also expresses that these persons have already been mentioned in the discourse.⁵

So, there are a number of arguments which suggest that the phoric postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* in definite NPs did not develop from a lexical attribute use as it was argued for *other* and *different*. Instead, the adjectives of identity appear to have developed postdeterminer uses on the basis of an earlier grammatical use as emphasizer.

4. Ghesquière (2009)'s discussion of English adjectives of specificity shows that these adjectives underwent the opposite development from determining to emphasizing uses.

5. Breban (2010) discuss in detail that these and other contexts functioned as "critical contexts", i.e. contexts that are both semantically and structurally ambiguous and that therefore can be claimed to trigger the grammaticalization process (Diewald 2002, 2008), for the development of *same* from emphasizer to postdeterminer, on the basis of historical data.

7.4. Postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical*

As shown in Table 7.1, *same* has one main use in the data sample, as postdeterminer. *Identical*, by contrast, has some postdeterminer uses in the data, but its main function is to express lexical identity. While its postdeterminer uses constitute 14.5% of the data, its attribute and predicative uses together cover 62%. When used as postdeterminer, the adjectives of identity express identity of reference, e.g. (7.31) and (7.32).

(7.31) The court heard how in September 1990 three members of the IRA unit were seen lurking around the Hampshire farmhouse home of former Whitbread chairman Sir Charles Tidbury, who Mckane is charged with conspiring to murder. “The registration number of their car was taken,” said Mr Nutting. Three weeks later Quinlivan and Mcauley were arrested in **the same car** at Stonehenge. Mckane was arrested and the equipment recovered on November 11. (CB)

(7.32) Despite two competitions bearing **the identical title**, Coca-Cola are confident there will be no confusion. (CB)

In (7.31), *same* indicates that the car the two criminals were in at their arrest is the one that was spotted around Sir Charles’ house. In (7.32), *identical*, likewise, designates that the two competitions have one and the same title.

As these examples illustrate, referential identity can take the form of an external relation of identity, as in (7.31), or it can be construed as a NP-internal relation, as in (7.32). In the former case, the adjective of identity forms a single determiner unit with the primary determiner and this unit establishes a phoric relation of identity in the discourse. In (7.31), for example, *the same* sets up an anaphoric relation with *their car* in the preceding discourse. When the notion of referential identity is NP-internal, the adjective specifies that a single referent is associated with a plural element in the context. For example in (7.32), *identical* makes clear that one title is associated with two distinct competitions. Its function is to clarify that only one instance is involved when the hearer might be expecting different ones. I will discuss these two main types of postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* in Sections 7.5 and 7.7 respectively.

Another important difference between the two adjectives is of course that *same* always occurs with a definite determiner, whereas *identical* can express referential identity in NPs with definite determiner, e.g. (7.32), and with indefinite determiner, e.g. (7.33).

- (7.33) Some reckon he is the man among the 30-year-olds most likely to give Roberto Alagna a run for his money. His first recital disc for Telarc is almost a gauntlet thrown down at Alagna's feet. De la Mora tackles some of the French opera roles Alagna has been singing or will be singing before long: Gounod's Romeo, Bizet's Jose and, perhaps most saucily of all, Massenet's Werther. **Identical arias** can be found on Alagna's own EMI recital disc of a few months back. (CB)

In (7.33), *identical* does not convey that the arias on the two CDs are completely alike, but rather that they are the same ones. It thus expresses identity of reference rather than likeness. As a result, it cannot be sub-modified, e.g. **very identical arias can be found on Alagna's own EMI recital disc*. The distribution of postdeterminer *identical* in definite and indefinite NPs is represented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3. Postdeterminer uses of *identical*

	numbers	%
postdeterminer in definite NP	13	22.41%
postdeterminer in indefinite NP	45	77.59%
total of postdeterminer uses	58	100%

In the previous section, I proposed that the referential identity meaning of *identical* in NPs with definite determiner developed through further grammaticalization of the emphazier use. In Section 7.8, I will argue that examples of indefinite NPs with *identical* such as (7.33) may have evolved from the lexical attribute use, which is also supported by the occurrence of bridging examples with *identical* in indefinite NPs (see Section 7.2.4). However, before I will try to reconstruct the possible grammaticalization process of *identical*, the precise value of the grammatical uses of adjectives of identity has to be established. I will first discuss the different grammatical uses, the external postdeterminer and classifier uses and the internal postdeterminer in Sections 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 respectively.

7.5. Phoric postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical*

7.5.1. Phoric value of *the same/the identical*

When *same* and *identical* set up referential identity as an external relation, as in (7.34) and (7.35), they signal that the instance denoted by the NP

is already present elsewhere in the discourse, that is they indicate co-referentiality.

- (7.34) The entire fight had lasted twenty-three minutes. On Eagle's right flank Iron Troop paused at the 68 Easting as small arms fire poured from **the same buildings** McMaster had just passed on the north. (CB)
- (7.35) 100 Percent Philosopher Alan Watts once said that the sun would not be "bright" were it not for human eyes; thorns would not be "prickly" if skin were not soft; rocks would not be "hard" or "heavy" if muscles did not exist; and so on. "Bright", "prickly", "hard", and "heavy" are definable only by reference to our own senses. A century earlier Ralph Waldo Emerson arrived at **the identical idea**. We habitually attribute too much to the world, he observed, and not enough to ourselves. (CB)

In other words, they function as phoric elements and identify the referent of the NP with another discourse referent, the antecedent (see Martin 1992: 98; De Mulder 1998: 2). As examples (7.34) and (7.35) illustrate, the antecedent can either be located in the following discourse, i.e. it is cataphorically retrievable, or in the preceding discourse, i.e. anaphoric retrieval. When the retrieval relation is cataphoric, two constructions are possible. In some examples such as (7.34), the antecedent is the referent of the restrictive relative clause that functions as a postmodifier to the NP. In others, e.g. (7.36), it is denoted by a postmodifying prepositional phrase.

- (7.36) Instead, he worked for Sega video games for year and then started writing for Hyper, a video games industry magazine. By coincidence, Rolling Stone had its offices in **the same building as Hyper** and when a job opening appeared last year, he jumped at it. (CB)

In this investigation of the precise phoric value of *the same/the identical*, I will again differentiate between the truth-conditional value and the added pragmatic value of the construction (see Chapter 6, Section 6.5.1.2 for *other* and *different*).

The basic semantic value of the grounding predication *the same/the identical* is determined by its two constitutive elements: the definite article and the phoric postdeterminer signalling referential identity. As we saw in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3.1), the definite article indicates that speaker and hearer can establish joint mental contact with the instance designated by the NP (Langacker 1991: 97f). *The*, however, does not specify *how* such

mental contact can be achieved. The postdeterminers *same* and *identical* clarify that the hearer can identify the instance by means of a phoric relation of identity or co-referentiality. In (7.37), for example, *the same* signals to the hearer that the boat in question is the ferry mentioned earlier.

- (7.37) A father told last night how he and his family narrowly escaped death from poison fumes on a ferry, just three weeks before two children died aboard **the same boat**. (CB)

In Section 5.3.4.2 of Chapter 5, I proposed that postdeterminers *same* and *identical* in fact signal identity of reference by invoking the idea of non-identity: it is ‘the same instance and not another one’. The determiner unit conjures up a second possible referent, only to deny it and confirm that the referent the hearer has in mind, is the right one.

In the following sections, I will illustrate that the evocation of identity versus non-identity causes the grounding predication *the same/the identical* to be used for different purposes than other definite determiners that can signal co-referentiality, such as the definite article and the demonstrative determiners, e.g. (7.38) and (7.39).

- (7.38) Nicole was out on the landing with a man he’d lever seen before. He estimated **the man** to be in his late forties with thinning wiry brown hair. (CB)

- (7.39) There was one extraordinary case after we had taken Stanleyville. During the night some of my officers came and asked me to try a man for murder. Briefly the facts were that **this man** had found a young Congolese girl and raped her, which in itself, let’s face it, is not an extraordinary occurrence. But what followed was. (CB)

In Section 7.5.1.1, I will argue that the enriched meaning, ‘identifiability + identity’, allows *the same/the identical* to fulfil different discourse functions than the definite article or other definite determiners. In Section 7.5.1.2, I will discuss a second type of enriched phoric meaning, the abstraction of a generalized type from the antecedent-instance.

7.5.1.1. *Co-referentiality and the discourse functions of the same/the identical*

In the literature there are many studies about the special discourse functions of demonstrative determiners in comparison with simple definite identification as signalled by the definite article, amongst others Ariel (1990), De Mulder (1996, 2000), Diessel (1999: Chapter 5), Gundel et al.

(1988, 1989, 1993), Himmelmann (1996, 1997), Kleiber (1986a, 1990b), Maes (1996), Maes and Noordman (1995), Strauss (2002). Many of them relate the discourse functions of demonstratives to their deictic values as markers of proximal-distal location of the referent vis-à-vis the speaker and hearer in the extra-verbal speech situation (e.g. De Mulder 2000; Diessel 1999:109f; Kleiber 1986a, 1990b and also Langacker 2004a). Evidently, this makes them especially suited to express exophoric relations. But, in addition, it also lies at the basis of another set of discourse meanings expressing that the antecedent instance is in some way connected with speaker and hearer, for example because it is more salient (see Apothéloz 1995: 278; De Mulder 2000) or already 'activated' (Gundel et al. 1988, 1989, 1993); or because it can be identified on the basis of a proximal-distal contrast with regard to the deictic moment in the discourse, i.e. (non-)proximity in metaphorical rather than in concrete spatial terms (Langacker 2004a: 98; see also the notion of 'discourse deixis' in Fillmore 1997: 61, 103f); or, finally, because it can be characterized as specific shared knowledge that is only shared by speaker and hearer and is not 'general knowledge' (Himmelmann 1996, 1997; Diessel 1999) as in *I couldn't sleep last night. That dog (next door) kept me awake* (Gundel et al. 1993: 278 quoted by Diessel 1999: 106) or *That holiday we spent in Cyprus was really something* (Ariel 1990: 53).⁶ In this paragraph I have briefly discussed several of the discourse functions that are associated with demonstrative determiners as fitting in with their basic semantics as deictic (non-)proximity markers. In the following paragraphs, I will do a similar exercise for *the same/the identical* and investigate for which specific discourse uses it is preferred over the definite article as basic marker of co-referentiality.

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6. One other important discourse function that at first sight seems to be at odds with the deictic semantics of the demonstrative is that it allows the speaker to refer to an antecedent that is currently not in the focus of attention and to establish it as a major discourse participant (Diessel 1999: 96f and also De Mulder 2000: 109). However, as explained by Kleiber (1986a) and De Mulder (2000), this discourse function is also motivated by the deictic value of the demonstrative. They argue that demonstratives are "token-reflexives" (Kleiber 1986b), i.e. elements that identify their referent on the basis of their actual occurrence in the discourse, and as such create a new context in which they mark the status of the antecedent rather than determining its status in the context that is in place (De Mulder 2000: 113). This analysis also accounts for the informal use of demonstratives *this* and *these* to introduce a new referent in the discourse, e.g. *I met **this** guy last night*.

As suggested, the semantic value of *the same/the identical* is co-reference with the added element that it always invokes the idea ‘and not another one’. By denying the fact that another instance is being denoted, *the same/the identical* make a stronger claim about the correctness of the initial identification. Therefore, they are often used in contexts in which identification of referent and antecedent is not straightforward. For example, they are frequently used to retrieve antecedents that have a different form from a simple NP. Two types of antecedents can be distinguished. On the one hand, the antecedent may be a longer stretch of text (see also Halliday and Hasan 1976: 79), as in (7.40).

- (7.40) Walking round this deceptively mundane structure we realise that it is enclosed in a bright polyester coating. This silvery surface provides clear reflections of our own faces, searching for an entrance. But none is available, and the suspicion grows that the shed has been sealed up because its contents are somehow unacceptable: toxic waste perhaps, or human remains left behind by a murderer. Such gruesome speculation seems wholly at odds with the refined purity of Frankland’s structure. And **the same contradiction** applies to Marcus Taylor’s Perspex sculptures. (CB)

In the literature, this has been called ‘text reference’ (Willemse 2005) or ‘summation’ (Takahashi 1997).⁷

On the other hand, there is a group of data in which the antecedent is only implicitly available, e.g. (7.41).

- (7.41) A dog which plunged 400ft down a mountainside had its fall broken by two climbers who had plunged through **the same ice hole**. (CB)

In examples such as (7.41), the antecedent-instance itself is not yet mentioned in the discourse but can be identified because it is in some way made available by other elements in the discourse context. In (7.41), the ice hole that the climbers fell into is also the one that the dog fell into. But the fact that the dog fell into it has to be deduced from the context as it is not explicitly mentioned. This type of phoric relation has been

7. For a more detailed overview of the literature on ‘text reference’, see Willemse (2005: 93–96).

referred to as ‘bridging’ (Haviland and Clark 1974).⁸ Willemse (2005: 96) defines the concept in general as “definite reference to a referent which is being introduced into the discourse, based on the relation with another element in the discourse context”. Willemse (2005: 96–103) also discusses the kinds of relation that validate bridging reference. These not only include part-whole relations and other traditionally recognized strong associations, but also relations established within the larger context captured in recent notions such as contextual frames (e.g. Du Bois 1980), scenarios (Sanford and Garrod 1981, 1998), scripts and schemata (Chafe 1996).

In the next paragraphs I will argue that these different types of antecedents can all be described as less ‘accessible’ (Ariel 1990) in the discourse. According to Ariel (1990), different referential expressions signal different degrees of accessibility of the antecedent⁹: “speakers not only mark certain pieces of information as accessible, they also indicate how accessible it is to the addressee” (Ariel 1990: 4). Ariel defines the degree of accessibility as “the processing effort required to access and implement a piece of information” (Ariel 1990: 5, based on Sperber and Wilson 1982, 1995 [1986]). She makes the argumentation more concrete by specifying that the accessibility status of an antecedent is determined by (at least) the following four factors:

- a. Distance: The distance between the antecedent and the anaphor (relevant to subsequent mentions only).
- b. Competition: The number of competitors on the role of antecedent.
- c. Salience: The antecedent being a salient referent, mainly whether it is a topic or a non-topic.
- d. Unity: The antecedent being within vs. without the same frame/world/point of view/segment or paragraph as the anaphor. (Ariel 1990: 28–29)

Her main claim is then that different referential expressions such as proper names, NPs with the definite article, demonstrative NPs, and pronouns

8. In fact, the concept has been widely discussed under several names, e.g. ‘associative anaphora’ (Hawkins 1978; Cornish 1986; Kleiber 1999, 2003), ‘inferreds’ (Prince 1981; Gundel et al. 1993; Gundel 1996), ‘indirect anaphora’ (Quirk et al. 1985; Erkü and Gundel 1987; Epstein 1999), and inferences involving ‘missing links’ (Brown and Yule 1983) (see also Willemse 2005: 96).

9. As noted by De Mulder (2000: 104–105), the antecedent is here the mental representation of the instance in the mind of the hearer.

indicate different degrees of accessibility and can be located on an accessibility scale from low to high accessibility in the order in which they are cited here (Ariel 1990: 69). On the basis of the location of the different expressions on the scale, she formulates the following generalization: “the more informative, rigid (unambiguous), and unattenuated the marker, the lower the Accessibility it is specialized for, and vice versa” (Ariel 1990: 29).¹⁰

Ariel’s (1990) approach sheds more light on the actual discourse functions of *the same/the identical*. Compared with the definite article, the determiner + postdeterminer combination has a stronger phoric value and is more informative due to its additional semantics of identity. As such, it is following Ariel (1990) expected to mark lower accessibility. Investigation of the data revealed that three of the four factors of decreasing accessibility recognized by Ariel (1990: 28–29) influenced the use of *the same/the identical*: competition, salience, and unity. The first, and for Ariel most important factor,¹¹ distance, did not appear to play a distinctive role in the data. In most examples, the antecedent is part of the preceding sentence or clause, e.g. (7.42), even though there are some examples in which the distance to the antecedent is somewhat larger, such as (7.43).

- (7.42) If a house sells for \$150,000 and the owner pays a 6 percent brokerage fee, lenders don’t care. But if **the same house** sells for \$146,000, the seller pays a \$4,000 fee, and the buyer pays a separate \$4,000 fee, most lenders will finance the property on the basis of its \$146,000 acquisition cost. (CB)

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10. This generalization makes predictions that conflict with the location of the definite article and demonstrative *that* on the scale. Even though the demonstrative is ranked as signalling higher accessibility on the scale (Ariel 1990: 69), it is formally less attenuated than the definite article. As pointed out by amongst others Maes and Noordman (1995), Maes (1996), De Mulder (2000), there are a number of other problems with Ariel’s (1990) treatment of demonstratives as marking higher accessibility than the definite article.
11. Ariel (1990: 31) notes that distance is the main factor taken into account in the drawing up of the accessibility scale. She assigned the different positions on the basis of a corpus study in which she measured the distance between the anaphor and the antecedent in a corpus of over 5000 words consisting of texts from four different genres (Ariel 1990: 35).

- (7.43) From the moment we began with a dream sequence of Dr Cameron stumbling through some misty Scottish countryside towards an alarming encounter with a mysterious hooded figure, it was clear this was to be no ordinary episode. It was not. Alarmed by his dream and alarmed still further when he saw **the same hooded figure** on the back of a wagon of itinerant Irish potato pickers, Dr Cameron spent much of the episode doing a fair impersonation of Private Fraser in Dad's Army. (CB)

I will discuss the three other factors in turn and illustrate each one with corpus examples.

In examples such as (7.44) and (7.45), **competition** seems to be the main explanatory factor.

- (7.44) Francisco Marinho, a blond defender, knocked Johann Neeskens spark out. His sidekick Pereira chopped **the same man** and was sent off. (CB)
- (7.45) "Now, here are the tickets, my child. You'll board between three o'clock and four-thirty on Sunday. Luke's stateroom is two doors down from yours on **the same deck**." (CB)

In (7.44), *the same* allows the speaker to single out the right man from the different instances of men, which are all potential antecedents. This example illustrates the notion of competition as defined by Ariel (1990: 28): there are several instances present in the discourse that compete for the role of antecedent and the more there are, the less accessible the antecedent is. However, I would like to propose that the use of *the same/the identical* has to be viewed in the light of a broader interpretation of competition. As I claim in this section, due to the semantics of identity added by *same* and *identical*, the grounding predication *the same/the identical* always contrasts a specific instance with other instances of the same type. These other instances can either be actually present in the discourse, like the other men in (7.44), or they can be conjured up or implied by *the same/the identical* itself. In (7.45), for example, *the same deck* draws attention to the fact that there are several decks on the ship, but that the one on which the girl's stateroom is located, which is the only one **available in the discourse context**, is the correct antecedent. This more broadly defined type of competition is always present when *the same/the*

identical are used, but it recedes to the background when other factors are involved.¹²

The second factor that can be observed in the data is **salience**: *the same/the identical* often denote co-reference with antecedents that are not in focus, e.g. (7.46), or that are circumstantial participants rather than main participants such as subjects and objects, e.g. (7.47).

- (7.46) The Pearl Archery Club was organized by women in New Orleans. It was not the first such organization, for the Crescent City Female Archery Club had already been founded in **the same city** during the 1870s. (CB)
- (7.47) The football satire “Only an Excuse”, shown on Monday night, was seen by almost a million viewers. **On the same night**, the World Cup edition of chat show “McCoist and Macaulay” was watched by 1.3 million Scots. (CB)

The same/the identical appear to be used very frequently to indicate that different events involve ‘the same time’, ‘the same place’ or ‘the same method’.

The third factor, **unity**, can be held responsible for the use of *the same/the identical* in examples such as (7.48), in which the antecedent belongs to a previous paragraph or a section that dealt with a different topic.

- (7.48) At one point, with the jury divided four for conviction against eight for acquittal, one member of the minority observed that his side consisted of four mature men while the majority was made up of four mature ladies together with all the youngsters. **<p> [i.e. html-code for ‘paragraph’ T.B.]** At another point, frustrated at the apparent impasse, **the same juror** suggested a compromise: there were two charges, so he proposed “an honourable or dishonourable draw” conviction on one charge, acquittal on the other. (CB)

12. A similar analysis in terms of competition of several possible antecedents has been proposed to hold for demonstrative determiners (e.g. Linde 1979; Langacker 2001). Maes and Noordman (1995: 259f), Maes (1996: 72) and De Mulder (2000: 107–108) dispute this analysis, but De Mulder (2000: 110) notes with reference to Corblin (1987, 1995), that when the competition concerns two instances of the same type, i.e. “compétitivité intra-catégorielle” [‘intra-categorical competitiveness’ T.B.] (De Mulder 2000: 110), the demonstrative is often used.

As the paraphrases of examples (7.47) and (7.48) reveal, salience and unity can also be related to a specific contextualization of the contrast between referential identity and non-identity. Whereas in examples with competition the contrast was ‘the same versus other instances of the type’, it is here ‘the same instance as opposed to different contexts in which it is involved’. For instance, in (7.48) *the same juror* refers to one (main) participant associated with a new event and new circumstances.¹³ In sum, the added notion of identity always puts identification in the perspective of the contrasting idea of non-identity. But whereas competition subsumes the contrast of the referent with other instances of the same type, salience and unity pertain to the association of the referent with different contexts.

7.5.1.2. The same/the identical as marker of generalized reference

In some examples in the data base, *the same/the identical* not only set up a phoric relation of co-referentiality, but perform an additional referential function. Take for example (7.49).

- (7.49) [he was] Part of the Colombian side that finished third in the '95 Copa America and reached the quarter finals of **the same tournament** in '97. (CB)

In this example, a specific instance is introduced into the discourse, ‘the ’95 Copa America’, and *the same* establishes an anaphoric relation of identity with this instance. But, *the same tournament* does not refer to the same concrete instance, i.e. the ’95 tournament, but to a more general conception of this tournament, which can be related to new concrete circumstances, to *in '97*. So, in addition to setting up a phoric relation with the antecedent instance ‘the ’95 Copa America’, *the same* also generalizes from this instance and the NP *the same tournament* denotes this

13. Van Peteghem (1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000, 2001) argues that the French equivalent of *same*, *même*, always has a similar meaning: “pour moi, *même* n’est donc pas en premier lieu un opérateur comparatif d’identité, mais il s’agit avant tout d’un marqueur qui identifie le référent en le situant dans plusieurs rapports prédicatifs et qui signale l’unicité de ce référent dans cette multiplicité de prédications [‘To me, *même* is hence not in the first place a comparative operator of identity, but it is above all a marker that identifies the referent by situating it in several predicative relations and that signals the uniqueness of the referent in that multitude of predications.’ translation mine].” (Van Peteghem 2001: 671)

generalized instance. Other examples in which *the same* expresses this type of generalization are (7.50–7.52).

- (7.50) If Germans were somehow “assigned” the niche of piano makers in Russia, France, England, Australia, and the United States, how did that assignment tell them how to make pianos? **The same question** could be asked regarding Italian architects, Scottish medical pioneers, or Irish politicians. (CB)
- (7.51) Chiku handed the 1974 volume for the local paper to Sharon, and took **the identical volume** for The New York Times. (CB)
- (7.52) The immune system is in many ways like a rail network, consisting of a series of tubes which supply every part of the body in **the same way that railway lines serve each area of the country**. At various points along the route there are stopping points. On the railway, these are stations, but in the body they are called lymph glands and each group of glands serves its own particular section. (CB)

Examples such as (7.49–7.52) illustrate Langacker’s (1991) point that instances can belong to different “domains of instantiation”, i.e. “domains in which an entity is thought of as residing or having its primary manifestation” (Langacker 1991: 56). Langacker (1991: 56) states that for the most common referents of NPs, concrete spatio-temporal instances, this domain is physical space. Generic NPs, by contrast, refer to entities that take “type space” (Langacker 1991: 64) as their domain of instantiation. Willemse (2005: 189–191) argues for the recognition of a third type, ‘generalized instances’, which occupies a position in between the other two. It differs from spatio-temporal reference in that it generalizes over several concrete instantiations. But, it has weaker implications than generic reference: it does not necessarily apply to all the members of the category.

Willemse’s (2005) analysis of generalized reference is based on the distinctions made by Langacker (1991, 2002c) between “local generalization”, which is “based on contingent occurrences” (Langacker 2002c: 3) and “global generalization”, which “reflects the world’s inherent structure” (Langacker 2002c: 4).¹⁴ The former type corresponds to generalized

14. In more recent articles (Langacker 2002c, 2004a), Langacker analyses generalized instances as ‘virtual instances’, which are defined in contrast with ‘actual instances’ (i.e. concrete spatio-temporal instances), and describes them

reference as defined by Willemse and the latter to generic reference to the whole category. For the present purposes, I will follow Willemse (2005) and restrict the notion of generalized reference to Langacker's (1991, 2002c) local generalization, i.e. "generalization over a number of actual occurrences" (Willemse 2005: 104).¹⁵ Langacker (2002c: 3) explains local generalization with the following example:

- (7.53) Three times during class, **a student** asked an intelligent question.
(Langacker 2002c: 3)

In this example, the NP *a student* does not designate a specific instance of the type student, but generalizes over three occurrences of actual students asking a question.

The concept of generalized reference as expressed by *the same* in (7.49) *the same tournament* can be explained along similar lines. On the one hand, *the same* conveys a phoric relation of co-referentiality similar to that between spatio-temporal instances. It signals that the instance is a known one, and not a new one. It is 'the same tournament'. But the phoric relation expressed by *the same* here pertains to a shared instance that generalizes from the concrete antecedent instance, *the '95 Copa Americana*. This generalized instance of tournament, the *Copa Americana*, is then associated with new concrete circumstances, *in '97*.

The data also contained two other slightly different types of generalizations, e.g. (7.54) and (7.55).

- (7.54) He agreed that at 85 kg, his normal weight, he is not heavily-built for a rugby player. "Physically, we are not **the same shape or strength as British or Australian rugby players**. It is very difficult in Argentina to [find] someone 2 m tall or as fast as British or Australian players." (CB)

as not tied to the ground or as abstracted from the usage event. These virtual instances subsume generalized reference as defined by Willemse, generic reference and other generalizations such as roles (Langacker 2004a: 89).

15. Willemse (2005) distinguishes a second type of generalized reference, in which the generalized NP denotes a role in a general procedure, e.g. the role of client in (i).
- (i) Our rental contracts, for example, are remarkably flexible. Depending upon the precise budgetary restraints **a client** may have, they can be long, medium or short term. (Willemse 2005: 190)

As this type is not found in my postdeterminer data, it will not be included in the present discussion.

- (7.55) Buried in Lahore, the city of his adoption, Rahi attracted to his funeral **the same milling crowds as had flocked earlier to watch him, alive, on screen.** (CB)

In (7.54), the abstraction process does not pertain to the antecedent-instance ‘British or Australian rugby players’ as such, but rather to one specific quality associated with them, their shape and strength. The generalization referred to by the NP *the same shape or strength* hence lies in “quality space” (Langacker 1991: 64, 2004a: 82). Likewise, in (7.55), *the same* abstracts a feature from the actual crowds that used to watch Rahi on television, but here the generalization can either be interpreted as pertaining to a shared quality, e.g. crowds of the same density, noise, attitude, or as pertaining to the magnitude of the crowds (quantity).

A final point regards the precise referential value of the NPs with generalized reference. In examples such as those above, the NP seems to refer to the generalized concept itself. However, as argued by Breban and Davidse (2005a), there are also examples in which the NP literally refers to a generalized concept, but pragmatically introduces a new instance of the generalization into the discourse, e.g. (7.56).

- (7.56) This year’s Festival Ball will deliver **the same potent mix of high fashion and celebration enjoyed by revellers last year** – and with a few exciting differences. (CB)

In (7.56), the NP *the same potent mix of high fashion and celebration* can be paraphrased as ‘a new instance of the same potent mix of high fashion and celebration’. Although the NP itself is definite and hence marks the co-referentiality relation on the level of the generalization, its overall meaning seems to be to introduce a new instantiation of this generalization. Ward and Birner (1995) have characterized this type of definite reference introducing a new instance as “dual reference”, i.e. the NP has “essentially two different referents simultaneously: the hearer-old type and the hearer-new token” (Ward and Birner 1995: 732).

7.5.2. Phoric value of (*an*) *identical* as marker of generalized reference

In the previous section, I introduced the different uses that the grounding predication *the same/the identical* has in the data base. Even though *identical* can, as shown there, combine with the definite article to express phoric identity, in the majority of the data it occurs in the indefinite phoric grounding predication (*an*) *identical*. The relative frequency of

phoric postdeterminer *identical* in definite and indefinite NPs in represented in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4. Phoric postdeterminer uses of *identical*

	numbers	%
phoric postdeterminer in definite NP	6	20%
phoric postdeterminer in indefinite NP	24	80%
total of phoric postdeterminer uses	30	100%

The grounding predication (*an*) *identical* combines indefinite identification with a phoric relation of identity. In contrast to the expected combination of definite identification and referential identity in *the same/the identical*, this combination cannot be used to express co-referentiality between concrete spatio-temporal instances. However, it can be used in examples in which the grounding predication not only signals a phoric relation but performs a generalization process as well, e.g. (7.57).

- (7.57) The settlement reached led to all the popes of the Avignon and Pisan lines being counted as antipopes, and their names and numbers were therefore available for re-use. John XXIII was one of the Pisan Obediance, so Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli was able to take the same name, when he was chosen to succeed Pius XII in 1958. For **identical reasons** there have been two popes Benedict XIII, Clement VII and Clement VIII. (CB)
- (7.58) If Germans were somehow “assigned” the niche of piano makers in Russia, France, England, Australia, and the United States, how did that assignment tell them how to make pianos? **The same question** could be asked regarding Italian architects, Scottish medical pioneers, or Irish politicians. (CB)

In (7.57), *identical* functions in a very similar way to *the same* in (7.50) reproduced here as (7.58). It indicates an anaphoric relation of identity with an antecedent that describes why there have been two popes called John XXIII, and abstracts a generalized ‘reason’ from it that can also be applied to the two popes Benedict XIII, Clement VII and Clement VIII. As suggested by this gloss, the generalized instance itself is discourse-new; it is only the concrete instantiation that it is based on that is already

known to speaker and hearer. This is made explicit by the indefinite primary identifier of the grounding predication *an/zero identical*. As noted in the previous section, the definite grounding predication *the same/the identical* explicitly marks the relation of co-referentiality with the antecedent instance.

Like its definite counterparts, *(an) identical* can abstract different types of generalizations. It can either derive a generalized conception from its concrete antecedent, like the reasons in (7.57) and the punishment in (7.59) below, or it can abstract a quality from the antecedent, e.g. the style of the temple in (7.60) or the colours of Linda's tracksuit in (7.61).

- (7.59) A woman punished her child for stealing by tying him to a chair in front of her house and hanging a sign around his neck that read, "My hands are tied because I cannot be trusted. Look Laugh. Thief." This mother was merely repeating **an identical punishment inflicted on her by her own parents when she was a child**. (CB)
- (7.60) The swift current carried him along past the ghats, and two round buildings. One was a temple decorated with images of dancing gods; the other, built in **identical style**, processed the sewage of Benares city. (CB)
- (7.61) And by the time he and Mari asked Linda to meet them at Gatwick Airport wearing a bright turquoise tracksuit – and arrived in **identical colours** themselves – they had already begun their relationship. (CB)

There were however no examples in which *(an) identical* generalized a quantity from its antecedent comparable to one of the readings of *the same in the same milling crowds as had flocked earlier to watch him, alive, on screen* in (7.55).

Finally, there are also a few examples in which the generalizing *(an) identical* has dual reference. With dual reference, the NP itself refers to a generalization, but it implies the introduction of a new instantiation of this generalization. In (7.56) reproduced here as (7.62), for example, it is said that this year's Festival Ball will deliver a new instance of *potent mix of high fashion and celebration*.

- (7.62) This year's Festival Ball will deliver **the same potent mix of high fashion and celebration enjoyed by revellers last year** – and with a few exciting differences. (CB)

- (7.63) Russia's rebellious Parliament has voted for another showdown with President Boris Yeltsin by setting July 1 as the date for a second motion of no-confidence in his Government. [...] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin demanded a second vote to settle the conflict that began on Wednesday when Duma passed a first vote of no-confidence over the Government's handling of the Budennovsk hostage crisis, in which about 150 people died. Under the Russian Constitution, Mr Yeltsin could ignore the first vote but if the Duma passed **an identical motion** again within three months he would have to either fire his Cabinet or dissolve the Duma. (CB)

Similarly, in (7.63), *an identical motion* introduces a new instance of the same motion, which is a generalization from the antecedent-instance *a first vote of no-confidence*. But in (7.63), in contrast with (7.62), the fact that a new instantiation is being introduced by the NP can be said to be not just implied but marked explicitly by the indefiniteness of the grounding predication. So, strictly speaking, there is no dual reference in (7.63), even though the different aspects of the complex referential value of the NP are the same, that is, introduction of a new instance of a type that is generalized on the basis of a phoric relation of co-referentiality.

7.6. Phoric classifier use of *identical*

In some examples in my data set, *identical* functions as phoric classifier: it signals to the hearer that the subtype to be derived from the general type is already available in the discourse. Take for instance (7.64):

- (7.64) Joan Beaumont died within seven minutes of husband Colin last year as he had a heart attack driving to her hospital. Medics took Colin, 74, to the Kent and Canterbury Hospital where his wife of 50 years was being treated for angina. Joan had **an identical seizure** yards away. (CB)

In this example, *identical* restricts the general type 'seizure' to one specific subtype, 'heart attack'. It identifies the subtype in question by retrieving it from elsewhere in the discourse, from the NP *a heart attack*. Note the contrast to its use as part of *identical twins*. In the latter combination, *identical* identifies a subtype of 'twins' on the basis of its descriptive meaning, full genetic likeness. In the examples discussed here, *identical* derives a subtype

by establishing a phoric relation of identity with an antecedent subtype. It hence functions as ‘phoric classifier’ similar to *other* in (7.65).

- (7.65) Earlier this week, European Community countries, including Britain, agreed to expel all military staff attached to Iraqi embassies in their capitals and imposed travel restrictions on **other Iraqi diplomats and officials**. (CB)

As illustrated in this example, *other* restricts the type ‘Iraqi diplomats and officials’ to a subtype derived on the basis of a phoric relation of non-identity, the subtype ‘non-military’.

In Chapter 6 (Section 6.5.2), I argued that the phoric classifier use of *other* was modelled on its phoric postdeterminer use in the grounding predication (*an*)*other*. It employs the same phoric relation as the post-determiner, but applies it to subtypes rather than instances. In this section, I will show that there are similar parallels between the phoric classifier and postdeterminer uses of *identical*.

As we saw in Section 7.5.3, the grounding predication (*an*) *identical* expresses generalized reference, *in casu* it establishes a phoric relation with an antecedent-instance and abstracts a generalization from it. Closer inspection of the data reveals that there are similarities between this post-determiner use and the phoric classifier use. These parallels are especially obvious in examples in which the generalization referred to is a quality abstracted from the antecedent-instance, e.g. (7.60) reproduced here as (7.66).

- (7.66) The swift current carried him along past the ghats, and two round buildings. One was a temple decorated with images of dancing gods; the other, built in **identical style**, processed the sewage of Benares city. (CB)

In this example, *identical* indicates a phoric relation of identity with the antecedent and draws a more generally applicable quality from its description, i.c. its style, and it is this quality that is denoted by the NP. Let’s now compare this example with one in which *identical* functions as phoric classifier, e.g. (7.67).

- (7.67) Last night, Rapid beat Feyenoord 3–0 in Austria for a 4–1 aggregate victory, while Paris followed up their 1–0 win in Spain with **an identical second-leg victory** over Deportivo La Coruna. (CB)

In (7.67), *identical* also establishes a phoric relation, but instead of retrieving a generalized quality from its antecedent, it extracts a subtype description, '1-0', which is added to the type description *second-leg victory*.

Furthermore, it can be pointed out that the phoric classifier use of *identical* can establish the same two types of phoric relations as the phoric postdeterminer use of (*an*) *identical* (see Section 7.5.2 example (7.57) versus (7.59)), anaphora as in (7.67) and cataphora as in (7.68).

- (7.68) The 2.8-litre engine of the BMW 528i has **an identical 193bhp output to the six-cylinder engine of the E280**. (CB)

In (7.68), the classifier *identical* establishes a cataphoric relation to the referent of the postmodifying prepositional phrase. It expresses that the same subtype of output, which is further lexically identified as the '193bhp output', that is found in the six-cylinder engine is also found in the 2.8-litre engine of the BMW 528i. In all cataphoric examples, the subtype that is shared is present in the form of a lexical classifier such as *193bhp* in the NP.

Thus, there seem to be functional and formal parallels between the use of *identical* as postdeterminer establishing generalized reference and as phoric classifier. *Identical* hence seems to manifest the same analogy-driven extension of its basic phoric use as postdeterminer to a derived phoric classifier use as *other*. With this discussion of the phoric classifier use of *identical*, all different phoric grammatical uses of the adjectives of identity have been given an integrated analysis. In the next section, I will be concerned with the other type of grammatical uses found in the data: those that express NP-internal identity.

7.7. Postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* expressing NP-internal identity

The data for *same* and *identical* not only include referential uses that construe an external relation of identity, but also examples in which identity is NP-internal, e.g. (7.69–7.71).

- (7.69) I want to know why, and how both men became involved with **the same woman**. (CB)

- (7.70) But in Japan they are so competitive it becomes a race to cut the chives the fastest and make sure that each piece of herb is **the identical size**. (CB)
- (7.71) It is not surprising, then, that when a husband and wife arrive home with **identical shopping**, the fortunate fellow will have been charged less, and consider himself the more cunning consumer. (CB)

In these examples, the adjectives signal that a single instance is associated with different elements in the context. For instance, in (7.69), one woman is having an affair with two men. Likewise, in (7.70) different pieces have one and the same size, and in (7.71), husband and wife are hypothesized to have bought the same things. As these examples illustrate, this post-determiner meaning can be expressed by both *same* (7.69) and *identical* (7.70–7.71), and similar to its phoric postdeterminer use, the latter adjective can be combined with definite as well as indefinite primary identification, as in (7.70) and (7.71) respectively. I will comment on the distribution of these possible combinations in Section 7.7.2, but first I will provide a more detail discussion of the specific semantic value of this internal postdeterminer use (Section 7.7.1).

7.7.1. The semantics of the internal postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical*

The postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* in examples (7.69–7.71) clearly fulfil a referential function signalling identity, but in contrast to their phoric postdeterminer counterparts they do not set up an actual relation of identity in the discourse. Instead, they posit identity of reference for the instantial set denoted by the NP in interaction with a contextual element suggesting multiple instances. Take for example (7.72):

- (7.72) “We can get **the same person** in here three or four times with gunshot or knife wounds,” Rodriguez said. “It’s hard not to feel as if you’re treating them so they can live, only to be brought in again next week.” (CB)

In (7.72), one person is involved in several life-threatening accidents. Likewise in examples (7.69–7.71) above, the context makes reference to *two men* in (7.69), different pieces of herb, *each piece of herb*, in (7.70), and *husband and wife* in (7.71). In all these examples, the context hence imposes the expectation that different instances are involved. *Same* and

identical then express identity of reference between these expected instances: they are ‘the same one’.

These postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* thus convey that the NP refers to one instance associated with different things, events or circumstances in the context. In this respect, their meaning seems to be very close to that of phoric postdeterminers *same* and *identical* in examples such as (7.48), reproduced here as (7.73), in which one instance, i.e. one juror, is associated with different events or circumstances, two different remarks in court.

- (7.73) At one point, with the jury divided four for conviction against eight for acquittal, one member of the minority observed that his side consisted of four mature men while the majority was made up of four mature ladies together with all the youngsters. <p> At another point, frustrated at the apparent impasse, **the same juror** suggested a compromise: there were two charges, so he proposed “an honourable or dishonourable draw” conviction on one charge, acquittal on the other. (CB)

For the phoric postdeterminer use, I distinguished two more specific types, one in which the same thing or person is associated with different circumstances or events, as in (7.78), and a second one in which the same circumstantial participant is connected with different events, e.g. (7.47) reproduced here as (7.74).

- (7.74) The football satire “Only an Excuse”, shown on Monday night, was seen by almost a million viewers. On the same night, the World Cup edition of chat show “McCoist and Macaulay” was watched by 1.3 million Scots. (CB)

The same two types are found in the data in which the identity relation is internal, as illustrated by (7.75) and (7.76) respectively.

- (7.75) Riley is world champion in the 100 m and 200 m breaststroke and O’Neill holds Commonwealth records in the 100m freestyle and 100m and 200 m butterfly. They are coached by **the same man**, Brisbane’s Scott Volkens who has developed a world-class stable in recent years. (CB)
- (7.76) This year for the first time, the Red Cross is staging all its big Desperate and Dateless Balls on **the same night**, which is expected to draw a total of 25,000 merrymakers nationally. (CB)

Taking a more general point of view, this internal postdeterminer use of *same* and *identical* is also akin to that of *different* in examples such as (7.77).

- (7.77) In this way of looking at things, the child is seen as focusing on different aspects of the environment at **different times**. (CB)

In (7.77), *different* conveys that the instantial set consists of individual instances that are involved in a distributive relation with elements from the context: one aspect of the environment at one time, another one at another time, etc. In examples of internal postdeterminer use of *same* and *identical*, the context can play a similar distributive role. Compare (7.77) with (7.78).

- (7.78) Is it a “multi-task” system? Can it be used for different tasks at **the same time**? (CB)

In this example, the NP *different tasks* also imposes a distributive reading. Postdeterminer *same* signals that it is one and the same instance that engages in these different relations: one task at one time, another one at the same time, etc.

In the literature, several articles, Carlson (1987), Moltmann (1992), and Laca and Tasmowski (2001), discuss the similarities between these ‘distributive’ uses of *same* and *different*. In all three articles, the main research aim is to uncover the precise nature of the contextual element that gives rise to a distributive reading of the NPs with *different* or *same*. Carlson and Moltmann claim that this “licensing” factor (Carlson 1987: 533) is the same for both adjectives. Laca and Tasmowski (2001) argue against this on the basis of analysis of the French counterparts of *different* and *same*, *différent* and *même*. They propose that while a distributive reading of *différent* can be conjured up by any plural context, a similar reading for *le même* requires an “antécédent partitionné” [‘a partitioned antecedent’ T.B.] (Laca and Tasmowski 2001: 154), i.e. a plural element that cannot be given a collective reading, but is necessarily distributive itself. This observation ties in with the general semantic analysis I proposed for *same* and *identical* at the beginning of this section. I argued that *same* and *identical* necessarily require a context that raises the expectation of multiple instances, the existence of which is then denied by *same/identical*. In data with *different*, by contrast, the distributive reading seems to be a consequence of the interaction between the instances that *different* individualizes and the context. As a result the plural element that engages in

this distributive relation does not need to contribute the distributive aspect.

7.7.2. The distribution of *the same/the identical* versus *(an) identical*

As examples (7.69–7.71) at the beginning of this section illustrate, the NP-internal postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* occur in data in which the adjectives combine with definite determiner and for *identical* also in data with indefinite determiner, see Table 7.5.

Table 7.5. Internal postdeterminer uses of *identical*

	numbers	%
internal postdeterminer in definite NP	7	25%
internal postdeterminer in indefinite NP	21	75%
total of internal postdeterminer uses	28	100%

Even though both combinations, definite versus indefinite identification, express the same general meaning – they signal that the same instance is associated with different circumstances or events in the context – they are not always interchangeable. As I will argue in this section, the differences between them pertain to the types of instances that they can denote. I will first discuss the combination *the same/the identical* (Section 7.7.2.1) and then in Section 7.7.2.2, I will extend the analysis to *(an) identical*.

7.7.2.1. The same/the identical *expressing internal identity*

In Section 7.5, we saw phoric *the same/the identical* and *(an) identical* refer to different types of instances. NPs with *the same/the identical* either denote the same concrete instance as their antecedent-instance, or they abstract a generalized instance from a concrete antecedent instance. Likewise, when *the same* expresses internal identity, the NP can denote concrete spatio-temporal instances as well as generalizations, e.g. (7.79–7.80); internal *the identical* only refers to generalized instances in my data, e.g. (7.81).

- (7.79) At first she seemed more forthcoming in talking about her mother, saying that she and her mother had been very close when they had lived in **the same city**. (CB)

(7.80) He saw her every week after that, always on **the same evening**. (CB)

(7.81) But in Japan they are so competitive it becomes a race to cut the chives the fastest and make sure that each piece of herb is **the identical size**. (CB)

In the first example, (7.79), the referent of the NP is a concrete instance, a city. In (7.80) and (7.81), the NPs denote generalized instances. In (7.80), *the same evening* generalizes over a number of instances of one particular day of the week, whereas *the identical size* in (7.81) designates that all the different pieces of herb that are chopped share one property: they are of equal size.

The latter two examples moreover show that the generalizing inference may be to a generalized conception of concrete instances or a quality displayed by different instances. In (7.80) *the same evening* generalizes over different actual evenings, whereas *the identical size* in (7.81) denotes a quality. Examples (7.82) and (7.83) provide additional illustrations of *the same* denoting a quality and *the identical* referring to a generalized conception.

(7.82) If you want lilies to go on from year to year with **the same strength**, they need enough leaf and root space between each other to develop. A pot 7 in across at the top is adequate for a single bulb, but for three the pot should be 10 in, preferably with a broad bottom for stability. (CB)

(7.83) I imagined seeing my sisters at the airport. They would be standing on their tip-toes, looking anxiously, scanning from one dark head to another as we got off the plane. And I would recognize them instantly, their faces with **the identical worried look**. (CB)

When the speaker wants to make clear that different entities have the same quantity of something by means of internal identity, the type of quantity is always explicitly mentioned, as *the identical size* in (7.81) or *the same amount* in (7.84). The NP hence refers to a property of the different instances rather than to a quantitative aspect as such.

(7.84) It was a problem of conservation that confronted Anne and John and their juice glasses; to understand that both glasses of juice held **the same amount**, John would have to ignore the appearance of difference, and understand that the amount of juice is conserved remains the same—despite variations in the shape of the container. (CB)

Finally, in addition to these examples in which the NP expresses generalized reference, there are also a few examples, e.g. (7.85), in which *the same* signals dual reference: the NP refers to a generalization, but implies the introduction of a new instantiation.

- (7.85) Federal Attorney-General Michael Lavarch last night said all survivors were entitled to **the same special consideration**. “The Voyager tragedy is a blot on Australia’s proud military history,” he said. “This has dragged on for far too long. It should finally be put to rest.” (CB)

In (7.85), each survivor of the tragedy with the Voyager is entitled to an actual instantiation of ‘special consideration’.

7.7.2.2. (An) identical *expressing internal identity*

The parallels with the phoric postdeterminer use also extend to the indefinite combination *(an) identical*. Like its phoric counterpart, *(an) identical* expressing internal referential identity can only be used to refer to a generalized instance, e.g. (7.86) and (7.87).

- (7.86) The fact that all languages are, for the purposes of Christian translation, interchangeable, makes them “instrumental”, so that in their very differences they all serve **an identical purpose**. (CB)
- (7.87) Miranda’s secret-apart from constantly throwing tons of manure on to the beds from the start-was to give the garden great symmetry, by making four beds of **identical size**, that together form a sweeping, circular shape. (CB)

In (7.86), *an identical purpose* generalizes over the purposes of the individual languages in the light of Christian translation. In (7.87), the NP *identical size* specifies that the four beds share one generalized property, their size. As these examples illustrate, the designated generalization can either be a generalized conception of actual instances or a quality that pertains to several actual instances. The data also include one example with dual reference in which *(an) identical* does not refer to a generalized instance as such, but introduces a new instantiation of it:

- (7.88) We also appreciate that this year’s series of races has been a most exciting and significant championship. For the last two races, Honda will continue to supply **identical engines** which will allow the drivers to give supreme demonstrations of their skills, as we have always done in line with our basic philosophy. (CB)

We thus see that *(an) identical* is restricted to NPs with generalized reference when expressing NP-internal identity as well as when setting up phoric identity. For its phoric use, this restriction can easily be explained: an indefinite NP cannot establish a phoric relation to a co-referential antecedent-instance. However, with internal identity the restriction cannot be explained so straightforwardly. *(An) identical* merely specifies that the same instance is associated with different contextual circumstances and events, but does not provide any information about its identifiability status. Moreover, it can be observed in the data that the instance denoted by an NP in which *same* or *identical* express internal identity is usually discourse-new. Therefore, one would expect the combination *(an) identical*, which makes the discourse-new status explicit, to frequently occur in NPs with spatio-temporal reference. As this short discussion makes clear, there seem to be no construction-internal reasons that can account for the absence of NPs with *(an) identical* and spatio-temporal reference in the data. In Section 7.8, I will argue that this restriction can be given an explanation when the diachronic development of the combination indefinite article + *identical* expressing referential identity is investigated.

7.8. Reconstructing the development of *(an) identical* from lexical attribute to postdeterminer

In Section 7.3, I argued that the referential meaning of *same* and *identical* in definite NPs originates in their earlier emphazier use and developed from it by a process of secondary grammaticalization. As such, the development of *the same/the identical* does not conform to the grammaticalization trajectory from lexical attribute to referential postdeterminer proposed in Chapter 4, which was confirmed by the corpus analysis of the adjectives of difference in Chapter 6. The explanation offered so far hence accounts for one subset of the referential uses, those in definite NPs. But, as shown in this chapter, *identical* expresses a similar referential meaning in indefinite NPs. The origin of referential *(an) identical* cannot lie in a corresponding emphazier use as the latter is by definition restricted to the combination with definite primary identification. What I propose instead is that the development of *(an) identical* did follow the suggested path of grammaticalization from lexical attribute to postdeterminer. As I will discuss in the following paragraphs, this account fits in with the semantics of both uses and is further supported by bridging examples in the data set. Moreover, it offers an explanation for the absence of internal

postdeterminer uses of *(an) identical* in NPs with spatio-temporal reference that I commented on at the end of the previous section.

As can be observed from Table 7.1, the most common meaning of *identical* in the data is that of descriptive likeness, e.g. (7.89).

- (7.89) The day began with a 21-gun salute for the symbolic bringing-ashore of the 14 national standards of the countries which took part in the ‘Great Crusade’. [...] The four small black landing vessels, the standards fluttering proudly over their sides, edged out of the swirling mist and drizzling rain towards the shore at Arromanches to hit the beach at 6.20 am – the exact time the invasion began and, strangely, in **virtually identical weather**. (CB)

In examples such as (7.89), *identical* ascribes the quality of being (almost) completely alike to two entities, that is, the weather on the anniversary of the landing and that on the actual landing. Another way in which the semantics of *identical* can be described is as conveying that two entities share all features. As I pointed out in Section 7.2.1, this can mean literally all features, as in (7.89), or all relevant features, i.e. all features from the point of view from which the entities are compared, as in (7.90).

- (7.90) After Eames’ death, the Queensland Corrective Services Commission conducted an internal investigation. That report is top secret. [Its] contents took on greater meaning 18 months later, when prisoner Bart Vosmaer was bashed to death in **almost identical circumstances** in Brisbane’s Sir David Longland jail. The similarities are chilling: a prison gymnasium, a metal bar, a severe bashing. (CB)

It is the likeness meaning of *identical* in examples such as (7.90) that, in my view, forms the basis for the development of its referential use in indefinite NPs. What could have happened is that the meaning of *identical* shifted from expressing that two entities share all relevant features to conveying that different instances share one thing, which can either be one generalized property or the fact that they are instances that can be captured by the same generalized conception. This semantic shift may have been triggered by the presence of a generalized postdeterminer use of *the identical*. This suggestion in turn implies that the generalized referential uses of *(an) identical* are of a later date than the corresponding definite uses, which appears to be confirmed by the absence of referential uses of *(an) identical* in the OED (Vol. 5: 18).

The semantic connection between the lexical attribute use and the generalized postdeterminer use of (*an*) *identical* is confirmed by bridging examples in which the adjective can be given either reading, e.g. (7.91) and (7.92).

- (7.91) These are world-class artists of revenge, whether their works employ claret or slurry or surreal mail-order cornucopia. In his statement to magistrates, Diver said he “couldn’t express my feelings in any other way”. Damien Hirst, acclaimed purveyor of pickled cows, has been known to voice **an identical credo**. (CB)
- (7.92) Inside the plant is more interesting Administrative offices have been placed in the middle of the production floor helps communication and there are few dividing walls [*sic*]. All the “associates” wear **identical white jackets with first-name tags on the right breast** and trousers hitched up with buckleless belts to prevent damage to paintwork. (CB)

In (7.91), *identical* can either be interpreted as signifying that Damien Hirst’s credo is completely like Diver’s in that they “agree entirely in meaning” (OED vol. 5: 18) or it can be read as a generalization of the antecedent quote of Diver, which is then associated with another person, Hirst. In the latter case, *an identical credo* can be replaced by ‘the same credo’. Example (7.92) illustrates the same ambiguity with internal comparison. One possible interpretation is that the jackets the staff have to wear are said to be completely alike. But, the NP can also be interpreted as involving a generalized conception of the staff’s uniform, i.e. all associates have to wear ‘the same white jackets’. As indicated in Table 7.1, there is a small set of bridging examples like these in the data, 11 out of a total of 236 examples, in which *identical* occurs prenominal. Importantly, they are all found in indefinite NPs, which seems to testify to the distinct paths of development of *identical* in definite and indefinite NPs. Thus, it appears to be the case that the combination (*an*) *identical* followed its own path of grammaticalization leading from a lexical attribute use expressing that two entities share all relevant features to a referential postdeterminer use which specifies that one generalization applies to different instances.

7.9. Two special uses of *the same*

To conclude this data-based discussion of *identical* and *same*, two special uses of *the same* need to be singled out: *the same* as part of complex

conjunctive adverbials such as *at the same time* and *all the same*, and the use of *the same* in predicative position illustrated in (7.93).

- (7.93) Erm but I tend to recommend to most of my alcoholic addicts that they go to A A or to N A erm and co-dependents that they go to Al Anon if they're in a relationship with somebody who's alcoholic. And I find them really pretty useful. Not not every group is **the same** and so Mm I encourage people to go and s and sample. Because some groups are you know more gossipy and some groups are you know more rigid party line [...] (CB)

I will discuss these two uses in Sections 7.9.1 and 7.9.2 respectively.

7.9.1. The complex conjunctive adverbials *at the same time* and *all the same*

Present-day English has a number of complex conjunctive adverbials with *the same*, which in my data sample happened to be restricted to *at the same time* and *all the same*. Other semantically similar complex conjunctive adverbials with *the same* are *by the same token* and *just the same*. In most of these data, the different elements composing the phrases no longer have a separate function; the phrases are largely unanalyzable units. For *the same* this means that it no longer functions as grounding predication of discourse referents. In the examples that I am referring to, *at the same time* as a whole then does not locate an event in time by referring to the moment on which another event takes place. Likewise, *all the same* does not denote that all instances are the same ones in different situations. Instead, these phrases have acquired new functions as conjunctive items.

The development of *all the same*, *at the same time* and similar syntagms into conjunctive adverbials has been investigated by König (1985, 1988, 1991) and Traugott and König (1991). They suggest that concessive connectives such as *all the same* often develop from elements that assert co-occurrence, subsuming both temporal co-occurrence as in *at the same time* and simple co-occurrence as in *all the same* (König 1991: 194; Traugott and König 1991: 199).¹⁶ Because mere co-occurrence or concomitance is “rarely highly relevant information”, except when there is something remarkable about the co-occurrence such as a “general incompatibility between the two situations” (Traugott and König 1991: 200),

16. König (1991: 194) further observes that expressions of concomitance are often combined with other elements that act as input for the development of concessives such as the universal quantifier *all* in *all the same*.

these expressions invoke an inference of surprise, which leads to an adversative or concessive meaning (König 1988: 91; Traugott and König 1991: 201).

Specifically for *all the same* and *just the same*, Traugott and König (1991) observe that this inference of concession is triggered precisely because they “assert parity, but imply expected disparity” (Traugott and König 1991: 203).¹⁷ They also note that *all the same* developed its contrastive and concessive functions in the nineteenth century and quote one of the earliest examples from the OED:

- (7.94) 1845 Disreali Sybil vi.iv (OED) What you say is well worth attention; but **all the same** I feel we are on the edge of a regular crisis. (quoted in Traugott and König 1991: 203)

The examples of *all the same* in my data illustrate the different steps in the development suggested by Traugott and König. In one example, (7.95), *all the same* expresses contrast and it can be paraphrased as ‘contrary to expectation’. In the other examples such as (7.96), it is equivalent to concessive conjunctions *yet* and *however*.

- (7.95) I spoke to Jacquet and he was encouraging. He said they were watching David’s performances for us and there is still a chance for him – small perhaps, but a chance **all the same**. (CB)
- (7.96) All you wanted was for us to have a nice time – and it’s the thought behind it that counts, after all. **All the same**, it’s a good thing we’ve seen the back of those lean times. (CB)

With regard to *at the same time*, König (1985, 1988) suggests that it triggers the same conversational implicature of surprise/concession, e.g. (7.97).

- (7.97) It is not easy to find examples of social services that are of general social benefit and, **at the same time**, not costly. (quoted in König 1988: 159)

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 91) classify it straightforwardly as an element that has developed an adversative, concessive meaning like *while*. In my data, the adverbial conjunction *at the same time* has three different meanings: simultaneity (‘while’, ‘during’), e.g. (7.98); addition (‘and’,

17. As I proposed in this chapter, *the same* always implies non-identity of reference in order to assert the identity of the referent.

‘moreover’), e.g. (7.99–7.100); and contrast/concession (‘yet’), e.g. (7.101). The latter two are pragmatically enriched meanings.

- (7.98) Saturday morning saw me back on the north bank at Weirwood contemplating the use of the Muddler. Plucking up courage I tied one on, **at the same time** throwing stones at a hedgehog as it tried to mate with the other two Muddlers in my open fly box. (CB)
- (7.99) In order to facilitate the acquisition of consumer goods abroad for the use of our population, we could start selling foreign currency to the population, **at the same time** making the whole process of going abroad on tourist visas more democratic. (CB)
- (7.100) Almost every Brazilian I spoke to predicted a 1–1 scoreline. If only we had shown the same faith in Brown’s side as they had. Scotland fans turned up at the ground with Brazilian flags painted on their faces. **At the same time**, there were Samba bands flying Saltires and looking like extras from Braveheart. (CB)
- (7.101) Caterina Adorna was not only a lay person, she was married, and she worked for most of her adult life at a huge city hospital, holding positions at every level from the most menial to the directorship. **At the same time**, she is not one of those saints whom we suspect of having been whisked through the process of canonization for reasons that have little to do with the inner life. (CB)

As indicated in Table 7.1, *the same* is part of this type of fossilized conjunctive phrase in 10.75% of the data (43 out of 400 tokens). The distribution of the two expressions *all the same* versus *at the same time* is very uneven with the former accounting for only 3 of the 43 examples.

7.9.2. Predicative use of *the same*

At the beginning of this chapter I quoted the OED (Vol. 9: 74) which states that *same* is always used with the definite article or, less frequently, with a demonstrative, and never occurs on its own as an independent adjective. However, in some examples, *the same* seems to have a meaning that is similar to the predicative use of *identical*, e.g. (7.102).

- (7.102) God is only a single substance. What brilliant economy of explanatory causes compared with all those billions of independent electrons all just happening to be **the same**. (CB)

In (7.102), *the same* expresses that all electrons are completely alike and are hence characterized by the same set of qualitative features, rather than that they are only one electron. As such, the meaning of *the same* in (7.102) is ‘gradable likeness’, and *the same* seems to function much like a predicative adjective.

This predicative use of *the same* has to be distinguished from elliptical NPs with *the same* following *be*, as in (7.103).

- (7.103) But surviving alone is not enough; it is not **the same** as being alive. (CB)

In these examples, there is no head noun referring to the type of entity denoted, but this type can always be retrieved on the basis of the discourse context. In (7.103) for instance *the same* can be reconstructed as ‘the same thing’. As in this example, the ellipted heads are usually very general concepts such as ‘thing’, ‘person’, or ‘way’. In (7.102), by contrast, no full NP can be reconstructed.

The interpretation of *the same* in copular clauses like (7.102) as equivalent to a predicative adjective is supported by comparative evidence from Dutch. Unlike English, Dutch has two distinct definite articles: *de*, which is used when the referent of the NP is masculine, feminine, or plural, and *het*, which is used for a single neuter referent. Depending on the nature of the referent of the NP, the Dutch equivalent of *same*, *zelfde*, can be combined with either, resulting in the forms *dezelfde* and *hetzelfde* (see also Breban 2002/2003).

As in English, definite article + *zelfde* can constitute an elliptical NP functioning as part of a copular construction. When this is the case, the choice of the article is, due to the absence of a lexical head, determined by the gender and/or number of the referent of the subject NP. In (7.104), for example, *dezelfde* is used because the subject of the copular clause is God, which is a masculine entity.

- (7.104) Maar Gij, Heer, blijft **dezelfde**, uw jaren kennen geen einde want Gij zijt de levende God.
 ‘But Thou, Lord, remainst **the same**, thy years have no ending because Thou art the living God.’

Semantically, *dezelfde* conveys in this example that God is always one and the same God. *Dezelfde* hence indicates identity of reference. In other words, *zelfde* is part of the determiner unit *dezelfde* and expresses internal identity of reference.

In (7.105), by contrast, *hetzelfde* expresses a fundamentally different meaning.

- (7.105) Geen dag was **hetzelfde**. Er was die spectaculaire bloedrode zonsondergang, maar er was ook die dag zonder einde, onmerkbaar uitdovend in een zachtroze nevel. (INL)¹⁸

‘No day was the same. There was that spectacular blood red sunset, but there was also that day without end, which died out imperceptibly in a soft pink haze.’

Hetzelfde in this example does not indicate referential identity, but expresses that none of the days talked about had sunsets that were alike. As with (7.102) in English, we can not reconstruct a full NP. Formally the Dutch predicative use is different from examples such as (7.104) in that the determiner does not take over the gender/number of the subject, but invariantly consists of the combination with neuter article, *hetzelfde*. In (7.105), for example, the subject *no day* is not neuter, but the predicative element is *hetzelfde* (neuter) rather than *dezelfde* (masc. and fem.). The distinct formal realizations of the elliptical postdeterminer construction and the predicative use in Dutch can be taken as an argument in favour of positing a similar distinct predicative use in English for *the same* in examples such as (7.102).

7.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the general grammaticalization analysis proposed in Chapter 4 for two adjectives of identity, *same* and *identical*. I checked whether it was confirmed by the layering of different uses and by bridging contexts in synchronic data extracted from the COBUILD corpus. In contrast with the investigation of adjectives of difference in Chapter 6, which supported the grammaticalization claim, the analysis of *same* and *identical* revealed a more complex picture and forced me to reconsider the generality of the path of grammaticalization I had proposed. The data studied in this chapter for *same* and *identical* made clear that the grammaticalization path suggested in Chapter 4 only characterizes one particular set of their postdeterminer uses. Only the postdeterminer uses of *identical* in combination with indefinite primary

18. ‘INL’ is short for the Dutch 38 million corpus of the INL, the Institute of Dutch Lexicology.

identification may have developed from the adjective's lexical attribute use. The more common referential use combining postdeterminer and definite primary identification was argued to have grammaticalized from a different source, the emphazer use in which *same* and *identical* are added to the definite article or a demonstrative determiner to emphasize the identification of the referent. The suggested grammaticalization process then consisted of the shift from emphasizing identification to establishing/contributing to the identification.

In a second stage, I took a closer look at the different referential functions fulfilled by the postdeterminer uses of *same* and *identical* in the data. The common element in all these uses is that they contrast identity of reference with an element of non-identity. The phoric uses of *the same/the identical* either indicate that the designated instance is the same one as the antecedent-instance rather than another instance of the same type or that the same instance is associated with different circumstances or events. Those uses that construe NP-internal identity always express the latter meaning and engage in a distributive relation with the different circumstances or events. The data also showed that, in addition to ordinary concrete instances, *the same/the identical* can be used to abstract and denote a generalization from spatio-temporal instances. Such relations of generalized reference could not only be established by *the same/the identical*, but also by their indefinite counterpart *(an) identical*, which explicitly marks the generalized instance as discourse-new. It is this generalized postdeterminer use of *(an) identical* that I claim developed through the grammaticalization of the lexical attribute use. I suggested that *(an) identical* underwent a semantic shift from expressing that two entities share all relevant features to conveying that one generalization is shared by different instances. This shift was supported by bridging examples occurring in the data base. Finally, I also pointed out that the generalized postdeterminer use of *(an) identical* which establishes a phoric relation with an antecedent-instance appears to have acted as a model for a similar phoric classifier use, in which the adjective abstracts a subtype from its antecedent-instances.

8. Adjectives of similarity

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will be concerned with adjectives of the third lexical field of comparison, similarity. As in the previous chapters, I will analyze synchronic data extracted from the COBUILD corpus via the Collins WordbanksOnline service for two representative adjectives, *similar* and *comparable*. For *similar*, I compiled a data set of the same size, 400 examples, as the sets studied in the previous chapters. For *comparable*, the total extraction from the COBUILD corpus yielded only 365 usable attestations. I analyzed the examples in terms of the same functions as I did the adjectives of difference and identity, applying the semantic and formal criteria set out in Chapter 6. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 8.1.

A first look at this table reveals that *similar* and *comparable* both have lexical, i.e. attribute and predicative, as well as referential, i.e. postdeterminer and classifier, uses in the data. In this chapter, we will see that a close semantic analysis of these two types of uses lends support to my hypothesis that referential uses are the result of grammaticalization of lexical attribute uses. However, in comparison with the adjectives of difference and identity, the proposed semantic shift from lexical likeness to referential identity/non-identity is more complex with the adjectives of similarity. As lexical attributes, they occupy the meaning area in between identity and difference, but their referential uses do not belong to a corresponding area in between identity and non-identity of reference. As will be shown in this chapter, when the adjectives of similarity grammaticalize, they divide over the two referential poles of either identity or non-identity of reference. This provides additional confirmation of the grammaticalization hypothesis formulated in Chapter 4.

The semantic shifts reconstructed for *similar* and *comparable* will be presented in the following way. First I will discuss their lexical semantics in Section 8.2. In Section 8.3 I will focus on their possible grammaticalization process and explain how the ensuing referential uses split between signalling referential relations of identity and non-identity. In the following two sections, 8.4 and 8.5, I will zoom in on the different grammatical uses. Finally, in Section 8.6, I will assume a more general perspective and

Table 8.1. Quantitative overview of the synchronic corpus studies of *similar* and *comparable*

	similar		comparable	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
predicative	77	19.25%	120	32.88%
prenominal	287	71.75%	188	51.51%
attribute	121	30.25%	80	21.92%
lexical classifier	0		0	
postdeterminer	123	30.75%	76	20.82%
quantifier	0		0	
phoric classifier	21	5.25%	12	3.29%
attribute-postdeterminer	22	5.5%	20	5.48%
postdeterminer-quantifier	0		0	
complex conjunctive adverb	0		0	
postnominal	36	9%	57	15.61%
attribute	32	8%	46	12.60%
postdeterminer	4	1%	11	3.01%
total	400	100%	365	100%

comment on how this analysis of adjectives of similarity fits in with the claims made about the grammaticalization of the adjectives of difference and identity in the previous two chapters. In Section 8.7 I will offer some concluding remarks.

8.2. Lexical uses of *similar* and *comparable*

In Present-day English, *similar* and *comparable* are used both as predicative adjective and as attribute. In these uses, they have a fully lexical meaning ascribing a quality to an entity. In the majority of the examples,

this quality is similarity in the sense of displaying a high degree of likeness with another entity. This main meaning of *similar* and *comparable* is the topic of Section 8.2.1. However, as I will discuss in Section 8.2.2, the predicative and attribute uses of *comparable* can also express a different lexical meaning, that the entity ‘can be compared’ or ‘allows comparison’ with another entity.

8.2.1. Lexical uses of *similar* and *comparable* expressing ‘marked likeness’

As was the case with the adjectives of difference and identity, the main lexical meaning of adjectives of similarity is to ascribe a degree of likeness to (at least) two entities being compared. More specifically, *similar* and *comparable* indicate that the entities have “a marked resemblance or likeness” (OED Vol. 9: 59). In the majority of the examples, this means that the entities have a high degree of likeness or, in other words, that they share many but not all features, e.g. (8.1) and (8.2).

- (8.1) ANZ’s “no frills” account will scrap the monthly account-keeping fee, replacing it with a small fee on transactions. It will have paying facility but the account will not pay any interest. Westpac has proposed **a similar basic banking product**. It will offer a number of initial free transactions, before it imposes a fee. (CB)
- (8.2) The rules of the pro-surfing circuit vary somewhat from year to year, but its basic structure is **comparable** with that of Formula One motor racing. Each year there are ten major events, and points won at them count towards the World Championship. (CB)

In (8.1), for instance, *similar* conveys that Westpac’s basic banking product is much like ANZ’s “no frills” account. As specified in the next sentence, it for example also drops certain fees. The predicative adjective *comparable* in (8.2) expresses that the basic structures of the pro-surfing circuit and the Formula One motor racing circuit are alike in many ways, some of which are again listed in the following discourse. As represented in Figure 8.1, this meaning of *similar* and *comparable* fills the middle area of the continuum of likeness formed by adjectives of the three fields of comparison.

The degree of likeness denoted by *similar* and *comparable* can be further augmented or reduced by the addition of submodification, as shown in (8.3) and (8.4).

qualitative features shared by compared entities			
all	many	few	none
identity	similarity	difference	difference
adjectives of comparison			

Figure 8.1. Continuum of descriptive likeness

- (8.3) “Leonardo and I are the two skinniest actors in the business,” says Thewlis with unabashed pride. “We’re both paler than milk and we’ve got **very similar bottoms**.” That is, hardly any bottoms at all. (CB)
- (8.4) The nameless skirmish was **hardly comparable** – in magnitude, consequence, or infamy – to the Little Big Horn or the Ia Drang Valley, yet two men were dead and another dozen wounded, most at the hands of their comrades. (CB)

It has to be noted that there are three predicative examples in which the comparative form of *comparable* is found, e.g. (8.5).

- (8.5) Chelsea’s line-up was the oldest, at an average of almost 28; United’s team was by far the youngest, at an average of under 24 and they fielded the most home-grown players with five (Chelsea were next with four). Age was **more comparable** in the Old Trafford semi-final but there were contrasts: Aston Villa had three overseas players and no member of the first team originated at the club; Liverpool, with two home-grown players, had the oldest defence and no overseas personnel. (CB)

The comparative degree, which is not found with the other adjectives of comparison that I studied, signals increased likeness here. There are no examples in which *comparable* takes a superlative form. As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.2.2), the virtual non-occurrence of degrees of comparison in my data can be related to the semantics of the adjectives: as they are intrinsically concerned with comparison, the semantics of the degrees of comparison typically cannot be applied to these adjectives in their ordinary use.

In a smaller set of predicative and attribute examples, e.g. (8.6) and (8.7), the idea of ‘marked likeness’ receives a slightly different interpretation. Here the adjective does not designate that many features are shared, but that one main feature is.

- (8.6) The swift developments towards unity in Germany have raised hopes of **similar progress** in Korea, but the two situations are only superficially similar. Contacts between East and West Germany have existed for decades, while in Korea there have been no communications or transport links since the war. (CB)
- (8.7) In terms of cost per feed, both Aviplus for Lories and Avesproduct's Lorinectar are **comparable in cost** to a home-made mixture using in-date foods. (CB)

In (8.6), *similar* means 'similarly swift'. The one feature that the speaker hopes is shared by the progress in Germany and Korea is 'swiftness'. In (8.7), the specific feature that is said to be shared is mentioned explicitly in the form of a prepositional phrase added to *comparable*, the phrase *in cost*.

As the examples cited above already show, these two subsenses of likeness can be expressed by predicative as well as attribute uses of *similar* and *comparable*. In terms of construal, both types of uses allow the entities being compared to be denoted by the same NP, i.e. internal comparison, or by separate NPs, i.e. external comparison, e.g. (8.8–8.9) versus (8.10–8.12).

- (8.8) Since Piaget thought that virtually all infants begin with the same skills and built-in strategies, and since the environments children encounter are **highly similar** in important respects, the stages through which their thinking moves are also similar. (CB)
- (8.9) It was well settled that discrimination involved the application of different rules to **comparable situations** or the application of the same rule to different situations. (CB)
- (8.10) When she opened her eyes, she was still wrapped in her covering, a silvery foil that crackled when she moved. Wrapped in **similar bundles**, other forms sprawled around her. (CB)
- (8.11) Stylistically, Weller is treading **a similar path to that of Lenny Kravitz**, but the accent is on passion, not posing. (CB)
- (8.12) Singer does not support the notion of rights, either human or animal. His case is a utilitarian one based on equal consideration of interests. He is saying that where the interests of animals are **comparable** with those of humans they count as much in moral terms. (CB)

When comparison is external, the second entity involved can be located in the preceding discourse, as in (8.10), or it can be expressed by a prepositional phrase, as in (8.11) and (8.12). From a distributional perspective, external construal is clearly more frequent in my data.

A final remark specifically concerns the attribute uses of *similar* and *comparable* expressing likeness. As the examples cited in this section show, these attribute uses are largely restricted to NPs with indefinite identification. In fact there are no examples in which *comparable* is used as attribute expressing likeness in a definite NP and only one example in which *similar* is. The example is reproduced here as (8.13).

- (8.13) It is, nevertheless, a fact that the legacy of the Enlightenment, in predisposing us to look for universal unities and laws in languages, has exercised a griplock on our freedom to take in alternative readings from **the deceptively similar activities of ethnographic translation and Bible translation**. (CB)

It can be noted however that even in (8.13) the definite article does not convey that the activities referred to are already known; rather, it signals identifiability. They can be identified on the basis of the information provided in the postmodifying *of*-phrase. In Section 8.3, I will argue that, as we saw with *different* and *identical* in the previous chapters, this likeness meaning could have constituted the source of the grammaticalization to different types of grammatical referential uses.

8.2.2. Lexical uses of *comparable* expressing ‘possible comparison’

The likeness meaning described in the previous section is expressed by all predicative and attribute uses of *similar*. For *comparable*, however, it covers only part of its lexical uses. This adjective can convey a second lexical meaning illustrated by (8.14) and (8.15).

- (8.14) Is there any horse you think is **comparable** with Lochsong? (CB)
- (8.15) Ian Shepherdson, an HSBC Greenwell economist, says there were 86,000 mortgage offers in November, compared with 69,000 in June. The rise was 25 and the figures are on a **comparable, seasonally-adjusted basis**. (CB)

In these examples, *comparable* expresses that two entities ‘can be compared’ or ‘allow comparison’. In the OED (Vol. 2: 708), this meaning is further subdivided into indicating that the entities are “capable of comparison” and that they are “worthy of comparison”.

This second meaning of *comparable* is mainly restricted to predicative examples in the data. In the attribute examples, it is less frequent than that of likeness, even though it has to be noted that it is sometimes difficult to tell the two apart. At odds with these observations, it should be noted that it is the only meaning of *comparable* pointed out by the OED (Vol. 2: 708), which suggests that the likeness meaning is a relatively recent meaning of *comparable*. This seems to fit in with the etymological history of the adjective, in which the ‘capable/worthy of comparison’-meaning is directly related to the morphological derivation of the adjective itself. The form *comparable* is a combination of the verb stem *compar-* of the Latin verb *comparare*, ‘to compare’ (OED Vol. 2: 708), and the adjectival suffix *-able*, which means ‘possible’. The meaning of the newly composed adjective *compar-able* is thus ‘that can be compared’. So, from a diachronic point of view, ‘capable/worthy of comparison’ appears to be the original meaning of *comparable* from which the now more frequent ‘likeness’ meaning developed.¹

In contrast with the likeness meaning of *comparable*, this second attribute meaning also occurs in a few examples that contain NPs with definite identification, e.g. (8.16).

- (8.16) The restaurant business is often volatile, but each Planet Hollywood outlet today generates \$10 million to \$15 million annually, compared with **the comparable industry average of \$2.5 million to \$3 million**. (CB)

But the use of definite identification appears to be motivated by the extra information provided in the postmodifier to the NP rather than by the presumed known status of the instance in question as such.

A final observation that can be made with respect to the two different lexical meanings of *comparable* is that they combine with different submodifiers in the data, as illustrated in examples (8.17) and (8.18) respectively.

- (8.17) The style of both these operas, like his music for The Red Shoes, was lush and late-Romantic, influenced by Scriabin and early Stravinsky, and **roughly comparable** to that of Szymanowski. (CB)
- (8.18) “The evidence, while **not strictly comparable** does suggest books on Australia’s bestseller lists now sell at prices closer to overseas prices,” Dr Cousins said. (CB)

1. The historical corpus data analyzed in Chapter 10, Section 10.4 provide diachronic support for this scenario.

When *comparable* expresses likeness, it is accompanied by submodifiers such as *roughly* and *fully*. But when it conveys that two entities can be compared, we find submodifiers such as *strictly*, *directly*, *broadly*.

8.3. Reconstructing a possible grammaticalization process of adjectives of similarity

8.3.1. The continuum of likeness versus the complementaries identity and non-identity

As visualized in Figure 8.1 above, the adjectives of similarity, which denote that the entities being compared share many but not all features, cover the central area of the continuum of descriptive likeness, which has three lexicalized areas, identity, similarity and difference. In the previous chapters, I argued that with *different*, *other* and *identical*, the likeness meaning constitutes the input for grammaticalization and subjectification processes leading to new referential uses that signal identity and non-identity of reference. In other words, these new uses indicate whether two instances are the same one with the adjectives of identity or different ones with those of difference. As this gloss makes clear, the concept of referential identity cannot, in contrast with the lexical likeness meaning, be conceived of as a continuous scale. Instead, it consists of two poles, identity and non-identity, which have to be conceptualized in terms of either/or, that is to say, either the instances are the same one or they are different ones. In Cruse's (1986) terminology, identity and non-identity are "complementaries", i.e. "they exhaustively divide some conceptual domain into two mutually exclusive compartments, so that what does not fall into one of the compartments must necessarily fall into the other. There is no 'no-man's-land', no neutral ground, no possibility of a third term lying in between them" (Cruse 1986: 198–199). Because of this lack of a 'middle area', the hypothesized grammaticalization from lexical likeness to referential identity appears to be less self-evident for the adjectives of similarity. In contrast with adjectives of identity and difference, they are not predisposed to either identity or non-identity.

Instead, as examples (8.19) and (8.20) demonstrate, *similar* and *comparable* can express identity as well as non-identity of reference.

- (8.19) Close friend Peter Murray, executor of the millionaire's estate, said Wright's book called the *Uncommon Thread* was a thriller based on real events. That uncommon thread was that they were

all members of **a similar socio-economic group**, of very wealthy parents and there are certainly some very high ranking people amongst them, he said. (CB)

- (8.20) I'd love to visit the house in Scotland or, even better, love to read about **similar stately homes cared for in such a way** all over Britain. (CB)

In (8.19), *similar* clearly has a referential value. It functions as a postdeterminer as can be deduced from its grammatical behaviour. The adjective cannot be graded, **a very similar socio-economic group*, nor can the NP be changed into a predicative construction, **a socio-economic group that is similar*. Semantically, *a similar* indicates that the characters in the book all belong to one socio-economic group and the NP is hence equivalent to 'the same socio-economic group'. *Similar* in (8.20) is likewise a postdeterminer. It does not allow the addition of a submodifier, **very similar stately homes*, nor the change into a predicative construction, **stately homes that are similar*. But, in contrast to (8.19), zero article + *similar* establishes a referential relation of non-identity: it indicates that the NP denotes new instances of 'stately homes' in addition to the stately home mentioned before, *the house in Scotland*.

It thus appears to be the case that the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of similarity divide over uses expressing identity as in (8.19) and others signalling non-identity as in (8.20). As I will further discuss in Section 8.4, the decisive factor is the type of instances that the NP containing an adjective of similarity refers to. When this is a generalized instance such as *a socio-economic group* in (8.19), the adjective signals a relation of identity. If the NP designates a spatio-temporal instance like *stately homes* in (8.20), the adjective establishes an external relation of non-identity. In the next section I will argue that the co-existence of these two patterns can be explained as the result of different semantic shifts involved in the grammaticalization of the adjectives of similarity in NPs with generalized and spatio-temporal reference. As we will see in the next section, the numerous bridging examples in the data sets of both adjectives lend support to the idea that two distinct paths of change have to be posited.

8.3.2. Bridging examples of *similar* and *comparable* and the shift from lexical attribute to grammatical postdeterminer meaning

As indicated in Table 8.1, the samples of *similar* and *comparable* include 22 and 20 bridging examples that allow either an attribute or a postdeterminer reading, e.g. (8.21).

- (8.21) The phone rings at 4 am. Soap Opera Consultant Superhero had been working late on a tricky diamond-smuggling storyline for Coronation Street. But immediately he is up, pen in hand. The voice at the other end of the line is terse. “Get to Liverpool by dawn. Brookside needs a three-in-a-bed lesbian romp. I’ll fax you last week’s Archers script: you’ll find **a similar situation involving the new vicar** on page 12.” (CB)

On the one hand, *similar* in (8.21) can be interpreted as attribute. In this case, the voice on the phone suggests that there are several features in the situation as it was described in the Archers script that the writer can use for his Brookside script. The possibility of an attribute reading is confirmed by the fact that *similar* can be submodified, e.g. *you’ll find a very similar situation involving the new vicar on page 12*, and has a predicative alternate, e.g. *you’ll find a situation that is similar, but involves the new vicar on page 12*. But, on the other hand, *a similar situation* can also be interpreted as a generalization based on the antecedent *a three-in-a-bed-lesbian romp*. Then the voice simply associates this generalization with its instantiation in the Archers. Additional support for this reading is that it is possible to replace the NP *a similar situation* by ‘the same situation’ which can only refer to a generalized instance.

The presence of bridging examples similar to (8.21) in the data is strongly suggestive of a semantic change from lexical attribute to post-determiner. Like the majority of attribute uses, the bridging examples are all restricted to indefinite NPs. So, these examples suggest that *similar* and *comparable* in indefinite NPs are being affected by analogous processes of grammaticalization and subjectification as the adjectives of difference and *identical*.

Besides the fact that they lend support to the grammaticalization analysis, these bridging examples might also give insight into the actual semantic shifts taking place. As I will discuss in the remainder of this section, they suggest that there are two slightly different shifts at work depending on the type of instance referred to by the NP, generalized or spatio-temporal instance.

8.3.2.1. *Bridging examples with generalized reference*

In a first group of bridging examples, *similar* and *comparable* can be interpreted either as attribute expressing considerable likeness or as postdeterminer signalling that the same generalization applies to several concrete instances. For example, in (8.21) *a similar situation* could either indicate

several shared features or it could signal that a generalized conception of the antecedent *a three-in-a-bed-lesbian romp* is being referred to.

The semantic shift leading from the lexical attribute meaning to this generalized postdeterminer meaning can be conceived as follows. In their attribute reading, adjectives of similarity signal that one or several main features are shared by two entities being compared. The shift towards a postdeterminer meaning that can be hypothesized to have occurred is that the feature that is shared is identified as a generalized quality or as the fact that the entities can be conceived as instantiating one generalized concept. It can be noted that this shift is analogous to that suggested for the grammaticalization of *identical* from lexical attribute to postdeterminer (see Chapter 7, Section 7.8). The semantics of *identical* were hypothesized to evolve from expressing that two entities share all relevant features to denoting that this feature is a common generalization or generalized quality.

In the data, this shift seems to account for bridging examples in which *similar* and *comparable* set up external comparison as in (8.21), as well as in examples with internal comparison, e.g. (8.22).

- (8.22) The leadership of the ill-defined group was in the hands of three men who greatly influenced George Thomas, as he was becoming aware of his own strength. Not all three exercised **a comparable influence**. George was antipathetic to Richard Crossman, admired the independence of Ian Mikardo, but found his strongest affinity with Harold Wilson. All three, however, influenced him. (CB)

On the one hand, *comparable* in (8.22) can be read as conveying that the influence exercised by each of the three men was very different from that of the other two. The next sentence then further describes the characteristic features of each man's influence. On the other hand, *comparable* can also be taken to form one determiner unit with *a* and to mean that the three men did not exercise 'the same influence' in the sense of 'the same amount of influence'. In this reading, *a comparable* makes a generalization based on a size-estimation related to different circumstances in the discourse.

8.3.2.2. Bridging examples with spatio-temporal reference

The second type of bridging examples always contains NPs setting up external comparison. They combine a lexical attribute reading with a postdeterminer meaning equivalent to that of *(an)other*, i.e. signalling the

introduction of new instances of a phorically retrievable type. Take for example (8.23).

- (8.23) Israel has deployed three tanks and extra reinforcements to prevent the 415 Palestinians from crossing into the security zone. Earlier today, the Israel-backed South Lebanon army fired mortars and machine guns when the Palestinians tried to enter the zone. Two Palestinians were reported injured. Israeli officials say they expect **similar attempts** in the future, but warn Israel will do everything necessary to keep the exiled men in Lebanon. (CB)

In this example, *similar* can be interpreted as signifying that the future attempts will be very much like the attempt that took place that day, in which case the adjective can be further submodified by an element such as *very*, e.g. *Israeli officials say they expect very similar attempts in the future*, or be given predicative construal, e.g. *Israeli officials say they expect attempts that are similar in the future*. However, it can also be read as zero article + *similar*, meaning that the officials expect ‘other’ or ‘more attempts’ in the future, i.e. as adding new instances of the type ‘attempts’.

Example (8.24) with *comparable* is helpful for the reconstruction of the possible shift from likeness to introduction of instances-meaning.

- (8.24) The need for the town to acquire a purpose built Assembly Hall had become increasingly apparent in the years immediately before the competition was announced. The intended use of the building was twofold. Firstly it was to provide a place for large-scale town meetings which before this time had been conducted in a room in the town’s public offices in Moore Street. [...] Secondly the building was to provide a home for Birmingham’s fund-raising music festivals which had previously been held in St Philip’s Church a venue which for many was highly inappropriate. [...] In eighteen-twenty-three Moore proposed a new building and gathered relevant information about **comparable halls** elsewhere in Europe which was placed at the disposal of the Street Commissioners. (CB)

At first sight, *comparable* may appear to specify that Moore collected information on halls in other places that share important features with the hall that was to be built, such as the fact that it had to be suited to the dual purpose of meeting hall and of concert hall. However, the formal tests of attributehood are not very natural, if not impossible, with this example: *‘Moore ... gathered relevant information about very/roughly/*

highly comparable halls elsewhere in Europe; ?*Moore ... gathered relevant information about halls elsewhere in Europe that were comparable*. Hence *comparable* is more likely to be read as part of a grounding predication zero article + *comparable*, which simply introduces new instances of the type which has been enriched by the description in the previous sentence, i.e. 'other such halls'. *Comparable* then signals type-anaphora but implies a more elaborate type specification than that provided by the head noun alone. One could interpret this as the persistence (Hopper 1991: 28–30) of the original likeness meaning of *comparable* in its new grammatical postdeterminer meaning.

8.3.2.3. *Conclusion*

The presence of the bridging examples discussed in this section confirms the possibility of an ongoing shift from lexical attribute expressing likeness to referential postdeterminer for adjectives of similarity. They suggest that the process went along two distinct paths starting from the lexical semantics of 'marked likeness': a first one resulting in generalizing postdeterminer uses similar to *(an/the) identical* and *the same* and a second one leading to postdeterminers expressing type-anaphora like *(an)other* and *(a) different*. In the next section, I will provide a more detailed analysis of these two referential meanings based on systematic study of the postdeterminer examples in the data sets of *similar* and *comparable*.

8.4. *Postdeterminer uses of similar and comparable*

8.4.1. *(A) similar/(a) comparable* signalling identity of reference

Firstly, I will look more closely at the grounding predications *(a) similar/(a) comparable* which signal identity of reference. As indicated in Table 8.2, these constitute the majority of postdeterminer uses for both adjectives.

In the previous section it was pointed out that when *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* express referential identity the designated instance is always a generalized instance, e.g. (8.25).

- (8.25) When they were asked who they trusted, from a range of local political leaders, SDLP supporters overwhelmingly rejected Unionists, a finding which illustrated the deep distrust which still separates the two communities in Northern Ireland. When Ulster Unionist delegates were asked **a similar question** at their conference last month, only 2 said they trusted Hume. (CB)

Table 8.2. Postdeterminer uses of *similar* and *comparable*

	similar		comparable	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
postdeterminers signalling identity	105	85.37%	61	80.26%
postdeterminers signalling non-identity	18	14.63%	15	19.74%
total of postdeterminer uses	123	100%	76	100%

In (8.25), *a similar* establishes a phoric relation of identity with the question posed to SDLP supporters, ‘which politicians do you trust?’, and abstracts away from its specifics to a generalized question that can then be associated with different concrete circumstances, in which it is put to Ulster Unionist delegates. This use of *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* is equivalent to that of *(an) identical* in examples such as (7.58), reproduced here as (8.26), in which *identical* sets up an anaphoric relation of identity with an antecedent and draws a generalized conception from it that can be associated with different circumstances.

- (8.26) The settlement reached led to all the popes of the Avignon and Pisan lines being counted as antipopes, and their names and numbers were therefore available for re-use. John XXIII was one of the Pisan Obedience, so Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli was able to take the same name, when he was chosen to succeed Pius XII in 1958. For **identical reasons** there have been two popes Benedict XIII, Clement VII and Clement VIII. (CB)

Like *identical*, *similar* and *comparable* express this type of generalized reference mainly in combination with indefinite identification. The grounding predications *(a) similar*/*(a) comparable* as a whole convey that the generalized instance itself is discourse-new, notwithstanding the fact that it is based on a phoric relation of identity with an antecedent instance. There are however a few examples in which *similar* and *comparable* combine with definite identification. In my data, *comparable* co-occurs with *the* in one particular phrase, *the comparable period last year*, e.g. (8.27).

- (8.27) Country casuals, the clothing retailer that is fighting a hostile bid from John Shannon, its former chief executive, said yesterday that sales in the third quarter of the year for the core brand had edged up just 1 per cent on **the comparable period last year**. (CB)

In this example, *the comparable* establishes a phoric relation of identity with *the third quarter of the year* and abstracts a generalized conception ‘third quarter of any year’ from it, which is then associated with the previous year in the NP *the comparable period last year*. The data for *similar* include one example in which it seems to combine with a definite identifier and expresses generalized reference based on phoric identity, e.g. (8.28).

- (8.28) I mean if we’re saying like these jobs are paid jobs well the stroke rehab yes even the stroke rehab will probably be a paid job. But **that similar kind of work** can also take place in the unpaid work world. (CB)

The generalization process involved in this example is not only signalled by the grounding predication determiner + *similar*, but is twice expressed. The phrase *that kind of work* conveys the same phoric relation of identity, marked by the demonstrative, combined with generalization of the antecedent instance, which is marked by *kind of*. We have the postdeterminer use of ‘demonstrative + type noun’ discussed by Denison (2002, 2005), Brems (2007a), Davidse, Brems and De Smedt (2008) (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2) here. In this example, the speaker thus uses two different postdeterminer combinations, zero article + *similar* and *that kind of*, to signal the same referential process.

The data in which (a) *similar* and (a) *comparable* convey generalized reference based on a relation of identity can be divided into different types. Firstly, the relation of identity can be construed either as an external, i.e. phoric, relation, as in (8.29), or as a NP-internal relation engaging in a distributive relation with an element from the context, as in (8.30).²

- (8.29) Choosing a subject is important and Linda Jaivan, a well-known specialist on contemporary Chinese culture, chose a beauty for her wickedly titled story My Friend The Axe Murderer which, I might add, has nothing whatsoever to do with a film of **a similar name**. (CB)

2. Van Peteghem (2002) alludes to a similar use of the French equivalent of *comparable*, *pareil*. She points out that in some actual language data *pareil* “contribue à construire une nouvelle classe générique [‘contributes to the construction of a new generic class’ translation mine]” (Van Peteghem 2002: 70) and further specifies that “dans certain cas, *pareil* peut même être remplacé par le démonstratif, ce qui confirme que son fonctionnement sémantique est très proche de celui des déterminants [‘in certain cases, *pareil* can even be replaced by the demonstrative, which confirms that its semantic functioning is very close to that of determiners’ translation mine]” (Van Peteghem 2002: 70).

Table 8.3. (A) *similar* and (a) *comparable* expressing generalized reference based on a relation of identity

	similar		comparable	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
generalized reference and external identity	94	89.52%	58	95.08%
generalized reference and internal identity	11	10.48%	3	4.92%
total of postdeterminers signalling generalized reference and identity	105	100%	61	100%

- (8.30) Each man uses **a similar technique**, that of reassuring opponents and maximizing his “consensus”. (CB)

In both examples, the NP with *a similar* denotes a generalized concept that is associated with different concrete instances, a story and a film in (8.29), and different men in (8.30). In (8.29) one of the concrete instances is expressed in the previous discourse. This instance is retrieved by a phoric relation of identity and serves as basis for the generalization. By contrast, in (8.30), the concrete instances are implied in the distributive interaction between the generalized instance and the context. The two types of construal are not evenly distributed in the data: internal construal as in (8.30) is clearly less frequent with both adjectives, see Table 8.3.

Secondly, the data can also be ranged into more specific sets on the basis of the type of generalized instance that they denote. In Chapter 7, I noted that NPs with *the same* and (*an/the*) *identical* can refer to different generalized instances, i.e. to generalized conceptions, qualities, or quantitative specifications. In the data for *similar* and *comparable*, we find the same three types, illustrated by (8.31–8.34), but the proportions in which they occur are different from *the same* and (*an/the*) *identical*.

- (8.31) Mr Hurd was appointed Minister of State in the Foreign Office when Mrs Thatcher took power in 1979 – he stayed there for four years before moving sideways to **a similar post** in the Home Office. (CB)
- (8.32) We have produced the best vintage for more than 25 years in 1990. We have been blessed with some wonderful vintages during the 80’s, but 1962 was the last vintage where we produced wines of **a comparable quality**. (CB)

- (8.33) Neither Malcolm nor Fraser has bowled in a first-class game since the second Test, a month ago, but the only alternative was Darren Gough, who has had **a similar absence** and an injury to overcome. (CB)
- (8.34) It is one thing to fill a thirty-by-sixty-foot space with vegetables and annuals grown from seed at the cost – in those days – of a few dollars, and quite another to fill **a comparable space** with expensive perennials which arrive in your mailbox as depressingly small plants. (CB)

In (8.31), *a similar* post refers to a generalized conception of ‘the post of Minister of State’ which Mr Hurd took up in the Foreign Office as well as in the Home Office. *A comparable quality* in (8.32) denotes a generalized quality, ‘displaying the same quality’. In (8.33) and (8.34), *a similar absence* and *a comparable space* abstract a quantitative specification from their antecedents, which they apply to new circumstances, to the absence of Darren Gough and to a space to be filled with expensive perennials. In terms of the distribution of the three types, the adjectives of similarity in general and *comparable* in particular more frequently denote quantitative generalizations as in (8.33) and (8.34) than *the same* and *(an/the) identical*. As I noted in Chapter 7, there are no examples in the data in which *(an/the) identical* occurs in an NP referring to a generalized quantity and only very few in which *the same* does. Regarding the other two types, reference to a generalized conception is hardly ever realized by *comparable* and reference to a generalized quality does not occur in the data for *similar*.

8.4.2. *(A) similar/(a) comparable* signalling non-identity of reference

In addition to their most frequent postdeterminer use establishing identity in NPs with generalized reference, *similar* and *comparable* have also developed a postdeterminer use in NPs denoting concrete spatio-temporal instances. In these kind of NPs *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* do not signal a relation of identity, i.e. that the same instance is referred to, but they set up a phoric relation of non-identity, conveying that a different instance is introduced into the discourse. Take for example (8.35).

- (8.35) The quartet have honed their act on the Gold Coast circuit, stepping off it momentarily only to play venues on the Sunshine Coast and in Brisbane. But what sets them apart from the plethora of **similar cover bands** at Gold Coast nightclubs, pubs and clubs is their refusal to take themselves seriously. (CB)

In (8.35), *similar* expresses that the NP denotes other instances of ‘cover bands from the Gold Coast circuit’ than the band that is being talked about, *the quartet*. In other words, it signals that the designated instances are different ones from the antecedent instance mentioned earlier in the discourse. It thus sets up a phoric relation of non-identity similar to *other* in (6.25), reproduced here as (8.36).

- (8.36) He said not too much should be read into the match as he had been feeling ill and had trouble with the wind and heat. In **other matches**, third-ranked Boris Becker overpowered Jason Stoltenberg 6–4, 6–2 and Sweden’s Stefan Edberg overcame his late arrival on Tuesday night to stop Germany’s Michael Stich 6–2, 6–4. (CB)

The discourse value of *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* in examples such as (8.35) is equivalent to that of *(an)other* and *(a) different*: they establish a relation of type-anaphora and introduce a new instance of the type. In (8.37), for example, *a similar* introduces a new instance of the type ‘common complaint’ into the discourse.

- (8.37) Of the 202 complaints which the tribunal did act on, 36 related to fees and charges. “In some cases, the complaint is linked to alleged agent misrepresentation if the complainant believes that fees, charges or commissions were not accurately explained prior to the sale of superannuation policy,” the report said. **A similar common complaint** was that people were sold policies which were not suited to their needs. (CB)

As is implied in the previous discussion, when *similar* and *comparable* express referential non-identity, it is always construed as an external relation. In this sense, the adjectives of similarity are akin to *other*, which cannot signal NP-internal non-identity either. However, unlike *other*, *similar* and *comparable* can only set up such phoric relations in combination with indefinite primary identification. They cannot construe a subtraction relation invoking the instantial mass M_T as well as an antecedent instance, as *the other* does, but they always express type-anaphora like *(an)other*.

However, the fact that the basic referential meaning of *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* is the same as that of *(an)other* and *(a) different*, does not entail that the two types of grounding predications are always interchangeable. The adjectives of similarity add their own semantic value to the relation of phoric non-identity. The lexical source-semantics serving as input for the hypothesized grammaticalization of *(a) similar* and *(a)*

comparable is that two entities being compared share some significant feature. In section 8.3.3.2, I argued that in the grammaticalization process, this shared feature is interpreted as a shared type specification. Because of these source-semantics, *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* still draw attention to the fact that the instances belong to the same type, rather than focussing on the fact that they are distinct instances, as *(an)other* and *(a) different* do.³ So, even though I argue them to have all grammaticalized to express non-identity, the semantic difference between them is determined by the “persistence” (Hopper 1991: 28–30) of the original lexical semantics of difference versus similarity.

Probably as a result of their emphasis on the shared type, *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* are especially common in two specific contexts that require extra attention to the type specification. Firstly, they are often used when the type specification (which is provided by the head noun and modifiers in the NP in interaction with additional information from the context) is less straightforwardly available. In (8.38), for instance, the type specification is in fact made up by the entire preceding description of one particular example.

- (8.38) Who is likely to take serious notice of subtle discrimination, as in the example of the small boy and the ice cream? But each patient’s therapy reveals endless **comparable examples**. (CB)

Secondly, they frequently occur in examples in which the type specification in the NP itself is very elaborate, because it contains several premodifying and/or postmodifying elements, as in (8.39) and (8.40).

- (8.39) The United States became more rational than other modern societies, in that the division of labour was no longer based on localized economies and, as immigration increased, citizenship and nationality ceased to be defined in ethnic terms. Instead, universalism was the dominant orientation, with ascription being further eroded by the introduction of egalitarianism in education. Parsons went on to claim that American society has gone farther than **any comparable large-scale society** in its dissociation from the older ascriptive inequalities and the institutionalization of a basically egalitarian pattern (1971, p. 114). (CB)

3. Note the difference between the phoric use which **draws attention to** the type that is available in the context and the generalized use of *similar* and *comparable* which **creates** a type by abstracting from individual instances in the context.

- (8.40) The ISO satellite, launched yesterday by Ariane 4 rocket, is as big as a 50-seat coach, and weighs 2.5 tonnes. [. . .] Professor Roger Bonnet of the European Space Agency believes ISO might become a blueprint for a network of **similar satellites that could act as an early warning system for Earth-bound comets**, rather like spy satellites that spot the exhausts of intercontinental ballistic missiles. (CB)

The postdeterminer uses of *similar* and *comparable* that I have discussed in this and the previous sections reveal that these uses are largely restricted to the expression of external referential relations in combination with indefinite primary identification. These two characteristics provide additional support for the grammaticalization analysis in that they also apply to the attribute uses of *similar* and *comparable*, which in my data mainly occur in indefinite NPs comparing the designated entity with a separately coded entity. Apparently, the postdeterminer use has inherited the contextual restrictions of the attribute use it originates in. Again, this illustrates that grammaticalization can be characterized by a form of structural persistence (Breban 2009a) as well as lexical persistence (Hopper 1991).

8.5. Phoric classifier uses of *similar* and *comparable*

As shown in Table 8.1, *similar* and *comparable* have a third prenominal use besides their attribute and postdeterminer uses, that of phoric classifier. In general this special classifier use involves the derivation of a subtype of the general type on the basis of a phoric relation of identity or non-identity with an antecedent subtype. Throughout this study I have claimed that phoric classifiers are the result of a process of analogical extension of the corresponding phoric postdeterminer uses. The phoric classifier uses of the adjectives of similarity further back up this hypothesis.

In the previous section, it was established that these adjectives have two types of postdeterminer uses, one construing relations of identity and another one establishing phoric non-identity. As examples (8.41) and (8.42) illustrate, their phoric classifier uses likewise divide into two types, conveying either identity or non-identity with an antecedent subtype.

- (8.41) Drivers will no longer have to get out of their car to withdraw money with the opening of Britain's first "drive-in" cashpoint today. The machine, at Hatton Cross near Heathrow Airport, has been designed and installed for Barclays Bank by electronics giant NCR. The company has been installing **similar cashpoints** in the States for 20 years. (CB)

Table 8.4. Classifier uses of *similar* and *comparable*

	similar		comparable	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
classifiers signalling identity	14	66.67%	9	75%
classifiers signalling non-identity	7	33.33%	3	25%
total of classifier uses	21	100%	12	100%

- (8.42) The Supreme Court ruled unanimously in the 1988 case ‘New York State Clubs Association v. City of New York’ that states and cities may ban sex discrimination by large private clubs where business lunches and **similar activities** take place. (CB)

In (8.41), *similar* indicates that the **same** subtype of ‘cashpoints’, ‘drive-in cashpoints’, is involved. In (8.42), *similar* expresses exactly the opposite meaning, that **other** subtypes of the type ‘activities’ besides business lunches are included in the description as well. So, again there is a striking parallel between postdeterminer and classifier uses. Moreover, as shown in Table 8.4, the identity meaning is more frequent than the non-identity one, as was also the case with the postdeterminer uses of *similar* and *comparable* (see Table 8.2).

8.5.1. Classifier uses of *similar* and *comparable* signalling identity

In a first set of examples in which *similar* and *comparable* derive a subtype of the general type, they do this by establishing a phoric relation of identity with an antecedent subtype, as illustrated in (8.41) above for *similar* and (8.43) below for *comparable*.

- (8.43) In the UCL catered Halls the fees for the 30 week session are around half the London grant (a little more in **comparable intercollegiate Halls**). In the self-catered Houses, fees are about one quarter of the grant (with local variations depending on the provision of central heating). (CB)

In (8.43), *comparable* signals that the same subtype ‘catered’ that was present in the NP *UCL catered Halls* also applies to the new type ‘inter-collegiate Halls’.

This classifier use is similar to that of *identical* in (7.64) reproduced here as (8.44).

- (8.44) Joan Beaumont died within seven minutes of husband Colin last year as he had a heart attack driving to her hospital. Medics took Colin, 74, to the Kent and Canterbury Hospital where his wife of 50 years was being treated for angina. Joan had **an identical seizure** yards away. (CB)

In this example, *identical* also anaphorically retrieves a subtype, 'heart attack', and indicates that the same subtype has to be derived from the general type 'seizures'. As I discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.6), the classifier use of *identical* displays clear parallels with its postdeterminer use indicating phoric identity in NPs with generalized reference. The classifier *identical* establishes a phoric relation with an antecedent and extracts an already available subtype description from it which it then applies to the general type it modifies. The phoric postdeterminer use sets up a similar relation but abstracts a generalization, i.e. a generalized conception, a quality or a quantity-specification, from its antecedent. However, because the classifier use of *identical* was present only eight times in my data, I could not provide a more detailed semantic analysis of this use. The data sets for *similar* and *comparable* supply additional classifier data, which will allow a better insight into the semantics of the phoric classifier use.

The grounding predications (*a*) *similar*, (*a*) *comparable*, and (*an*) *identical* designate a generalization which they associate with different concrete instantiations. In the same vein, the data for *similar* and *comparable* reveal that as classifiers, the adjectives invoke a factor of difference as well. In a first set of examples, e.g. (9.44) and (9.45), they express the fact that the same subtype has to be derived from **different general types**.

- (8.45) (17.7) Indeed, studies, even with children, show that when the self-images of middle-class or affluent African Americans are measured, their feelings of self-esteem are more positive than those of **comparable Whites**. (CB)
- (8.46) This video is part of a U.N. effort to help voters overcome their fear of intimidation and to convince them of the importance of voting their conscience. The videos are vignettes of Cambodian villagers discussing such concepts as free choice and a secret ballot. The U.N. plays these videos and **similar radio messages** in villages throughout much of the country. (CB)

In (8.45), *comparable* identifies the subtype of ‘Whites’ at stake as the same subtype derived from the general type ‘African Americans’ in the preceding discourse, i.e. as ‘middle-class or affluent’. In (8.46), *similar* likewise indicates that the subtype of ‘radio messages’ referred to is the same as that of the videos talked about. But, in contrast to (8.45), the specific subtype of videos involved (which can be paraphrased as ‘videos promoting democracy’) is not expressed in the antecedent NP, but has to be deduced on the basis of contextual information.

In a second group of examples, the phorically retrieved subtype encompasses **different more specific subtypes**: *similar* in (8.47) expresses phoric identity with the lexically retrievable subtype ‘breast’ and conveys that the same subtype ‘breast implants’ covers ‘breast implants *filled with saline solution rather than silicone gel*’ as well as ‘*silicone-gel* breast implants’. (8.47).⁴

- (8.47) As of this writing, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration’s partial ban on silicone-gel breast implants because of safety concerns has made many breast cancer patients leery of reconstructive breast surgery even though the F.D.A. permits such devices (and **similar implants filled with saline solution rather than silicone gel**) if the woman receiving it agrees to participate in an F.D.A. approved clinical trial. (CB)

8.5.2. Classifier uses of *similar* and *comparable* signalling non-identity

The phoric classifier uses of *similar* and *comparable* in which they set up relations of non-identity derive a subtype that is not the same as an antecedent subtype, e.g. (8.48). Such non-identity phoric classifiers have to be used together with a hyponymic type specification, i.e. one which is more general than the antecedent subtype.

- (8.48) Employment and Training Minister Wendy Edmond denied that Queensland had many more public holidays than other states or **comparable trading partners**. (CB)

4. One of the classifier examples of *identical* (7.67) shows a related specialization of the type, *win* vs. *second-leg victory*:

(i) Last night, Rapid beat Feyenoord 3–0 in Austria for a 4–1 aggregate victory, while Paris followed up their 1–0 win in Spain with **an identical second-leg victory** over Deportivo La Coruna. (CB)

In (8.48), *comparable* conveys that other subtypes of the hyponym ‘trading partners’ besides the previously mentioned ‘states’ have to be included in the type specification.

While the first classifier use establishing a phoric relation of identity was similar to that of *identical*, this second one denoting non-identity is clearly equivalent to that of *other*, e.g. (8.49).

- (8.49) By chance, the Carlton Club was relatively empty when the device went off. But ministers and **other leading figures** frequently dine there. (CB)

In (8.49), *other* also signals that different subtypes of ‘leading figures’ than the antecedent subtype ‘ministers’ dine at the Carlton Club. In Chapter 6 (Section 6.5.2.1), I showed that *other* occurs as a classifier in three formally distinct patterns depending on the form and location of the antecedent. This antecedent can either be a full NP that is coordinated by *and* or *or* to the NP containing *other* and a hyponymic type specification, as in (8.49) above, or a lexical classifier occurring either in the preceding discourse as part of a different NP, e.g. (8.50), or in the same NP, e.g. (8.51).

- (8.50) Thai businessmen should invest in Vietnam now, the minister told journalists, before **other investors** take advantage of existing opportunities. (CB)
- (8.51) And the Israelis have moved into Addis Abeba in a significant way, providing **military and other support**. (CB)

The classifier uses of *similar* and *comparable*, with the exception of one example reproduced here as (8.52), all adhere to the first pattern, an antecedent NP coordinated to a NP with *similar/comparable* and hyponymic head.

- (8.52) The dangerousness thesis, in focusing on the dangerous minority, is directly antagonistic to **radical feminist and similar perspectives** on the entrenched and structural nature, even universality, of men’s violence. (CB)

In this example, the antecedent is the lexical classifier *radically feminist*, which is coordinated with *similar* as part of the same NP.

Semantically, this classifier use of *similar/comparable* is in many ways analogous to the corresponding phoric postdeterminer use. As I set out in

Chapter 6 (Section 6.5.2.2) for *other*, the basic phoric mechanism of the two uses is the same: the adjective establishes a phoric relation with either an antecedent instance or subtype in order to express the fact that the instance or subtype it helps to identify is not the same one as this antecedent. Furthermore, the classifier use also shares some typical semantico-pragmatic features with the postdeterminer use. For example, it also invokes the notion of addition of subtypes to an existing one, as in (8.49), which parallels the pragmatic additive meaning of postdeterminer *other*.

The non-identity classifier use of *similar* and *comparable* also shows a further semantic parallel with the corresponding postdeterminer use of these adjectives. In Section 8.4.2, I noted that the phoric postdeterminer uses of *similar* and *comparable* add a special semantic aspect to the relation of non-identity: they emphasize the shared type specification. This was reflected in the data by their occurrence in examples with an elaborate type description, for instance in the form of a postmodifying restrictive relative clause as in (8.40), reproduced here as (8.53).

- (8.53) The ISO satellite, launched yesterday by Ariane 4 rocket, is as big as a 50-seat coach, and weighs 2.5 tonnes. [. . .] Professor Roger Bonnet of the European Space Agency believes ISO might become a blueprint for a network of **similar satellites that could act as an early warning system for Earth-bound comets**, rather like spy satellites that spot the exhausts of intercontinental ballistic missiles. (CB)

Likewise, the classifier use of *similar* and *comparable* mainly occurs in data in which the general type from which a subtype is derived is not denoted by one simple head noun, but is a more elaborate type. In (8.54), for example, *similar* expresses that other subtypes than 'greenfood' have to be derived from the complex type 'fresh food'.

- (8.54) The most common condition encountered is Vitamin A deficiency. This is because this vitamin is only present in seed at low levels: much richer sources are present in greenfood and **similar fresh foods**. (CB)

In other examples, such as (8.55), no complex type specification is lexicalized in the NP, but the classifier signals that the hearer should enrich the general type on the basis of contextual information.

- (8.55) Muggers and **similar criminals** know there is little chance of being caught. (CB)

In (8.55), *similar* does not just introduce other subtypes of ‘criminals’, but also carries over the characterization of ‘minor crimes’ that is invoked by ‘muggers’. The construction as a whole can be paraphrased as ‘muggers and other minor criminals’. *Similar* thus not only indicates that a different subtype is involved, but it also gives an additional instruction to carry over the whole type specification of the antecedent. It can be noted that in some examples, a similar classifier meaning is in fact realized by a combination of two phoric classifiers, each expressing one aspect of this meaning, e.g. (8.56).

- (8.56) Companies like Mundi Color (0171-828 6021), which specialises mainly in the interior, or Magic of Spain (0181-748 7575), which does both costas and the interior, can offer itineraries based on paradors and **other comparable hotels**. (CB)

In (8.56), *other* signals that different subtypes from the antecedent-subtype ‘paradors’ have to be derived, while *comparable* expresses that these new subtypes belong to the same more general subtype implied in the antecedent *paradors*, that is, ‘hotels with an individual character maintaining a high standard’.

8.6. The relation between adjectives of similarity and other adjectives of comparison

In the previous sections, I have described the different uses of *similar* and *comparable* attested in my data base. As predicates and attributes conveying marked descriptive likeness, they are part of the semantic continuum of likeness that also includes the lexical likeness meanings of adjectives of identity and difference. The grammatical postdeterminer and classifier uses, by contrast, divide over two types of referential meaning, identity and non-identity, and as a result perform functions similar to the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of identity and difference respectively. The proposed grammaticalization of adjectives of similarity from lexical attribute to referential postdeterminer and phoric classifier thus seems to go together with a change in organization of the semantic field of comparison from a continuous scale with three lexicalized areas, identity, similarity

and difference, to the complementaries identity and non-identity. I will further develop this feature of the grammaticalization of the adjectives of similarity in this section.

When they express lexical likeness, the three types of adjectives of comparison have equal status. They each occupy one range on the continuum of descriptive likeness: full likeness (adjectives of identity), considerable likeness (adjectives of similarity), and little or no likeness (adjectives of difference). However, when they undergo a semantic shift towards expressing grammatical, reference-related meanings, the new grammaticalized semantics are clustered around two poles, identity and non-identity. This of course affects the respective statuses of adjectives from the three subfields. Whereas identity, similarity and difference have equal status on the scale of likeness, the grammaticalized meanings identity and non-identity privilege the adjectives of identity and difference, whose semantics intrinsically accord with the notions of identity and non-identity. As a result, the grammaticalized uses of these two types of adjectives each specialize in one type of referential meaning, identity for adjectives of identity and non-identity for adjectives of difference. The adjectives of similarity, by contrast, no longer have equal status in the referential meaning. What seems to happen is that they lose their independent semantics and divide over the two poles identity and non-identity.

As I argued throughout this chapter, the specific referential relations conveyed by adjectives of similarity are equivalent to those expressed by adjectives of identity and difference. As postdeterminers, *similar* and *comparable* are part of the grounding predications *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable*, which designate on the one hand that the same generalization applies to different concrete instantiations like *the same* and *(an/the) identical*, and, on the other, that a new instance of a phorically retrievable type is introduced in the discourse, as do *(an)other* and *(a) different*. When used as phoric classifiers, they manifest similar functional analogies with the classifier uses of *identical* and *other*. These observations lead to the hypothesis that the grammaticalized uses of the adjectives of identity and difference have served as models for those of adjectives of similarity. I will evaluate this hypothesis with a diachronic corpus study in Chapter 10.

The quantitative profiles of the different adjectives allow me to formulate a second related hypothesis. In Table 8.5, I have brought together the figures showing the proportional distribution of the six adjectives over the different uses. I will argue that their respective quantitative profiles shed

Table 8.5. Quantitative overview of the synchronic corpus study of *same*, *identical*, *other*, *different*, *similar*, and *comparable*

	same	identical	other	different	similar	comparable
predicative		37.25%		23%	19.25%	32.88%
prenominal	100%	59%	99.25%	74.5%	71.75%	51.51%
attribute		24.25%		28.25%	30.25%	21.92%
lexical classifier		15%				
postdeterminer	89.25%	14.5%	89.5%	40.75%	30.75%	20.82%
quantifier				1%		
phoric classifier		2%	7.75%		5.25%	3.29%
attribute-postdeterminer		2.75%		3.75%	5.5%	5.48%
postdeterminer-quantifier				0.75%		
complex conjunctive adverb	10.75%		2%			
postnominal		3.75%	0.75%	2.5%	9%	15.61%
attribute		3.25%		1.75%	8%	12.60%
postdeterminer		0.5%	0.25%	0.75%	1%	3.01%
complex preposition			0.5%			
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

light on their different degrees of grammaticalization. The idea is that the combined proportion of grammaticalized uses, i.e. postdeterminer + phoric classifier + quantifier + bridging contexts allowing either a postdeterminer or a quantifier reading + complex conjunctive adverbial uses, is indicative of the degree of grammaticalization of the adjectives in current English. In order to facilitate the comparison, Table 8.6 presents a reduced version of Table 8.5, grouping together the lexical and the grammaticalized uses, with a third mixed category containing contexts that allow a lexical and a grammaticalized interpretation.

Two adjectives are clearly in a class of their own in that they do not have any lexical or bridging uses in the samples investigated: *same* and *other*. These adjectives, one of identity and one of difference, are taken to be fully grammaticalized. However, whereas definite determiner and *same*

Table 8.6. Lexical versus grammaticalized uses of *same*, *identical*, *other*, *different*, *similar*, and *comparable*

	same	identical	other	different	similar	comparable
lexical uses		80.25%		53%	57.5%	67.4%
grammaticalized uses	100%	17%	100%	43.25%	37%	27.12%
bridging contexts		2.75%		3.75%	5.5%	5.48%
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

were present as a grammaticalized unit from the earliest recorded stages of English on (OED Vol. 9: 75), *other* gradually shed the lexical uses which it still had in earlier stages and can as noted by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1145) even in Present-day English still occur with the lexical meaning in very specific contexts.⁵

In addition, several other features set *same* and *other* apart from the other adjectives. As argued in Section 4.3.1, they are the only adjectives that display the coalescence, in a strict, orthographical, sense for *another* and a functional sense for *the same*, *the other*. Semantically, they express the broadest range of postdeterminer meanings. *The same* is by far the most common grounding predication to signal co-referentiality between spatio-temporal instances and can express identity of reference for all the different types of generalized instances, for generalized conceptions, qualities and, in the case of external construal of the identity relation, for quantities. *Other* is the only adjective that can express phoric non-identity in combination with indefinite as well as definite primary identification.

On the basis of these commonalities between *same* and *other*, I propose that they may have served as analogical models for the grammaticalization not only of the adjectives of similarity, *similar* and *comparable*, but also for that of the other adjectives of identity and difference, *identical* and *different* respectively. This hypothesis appears to be borne out in the quantitative profiles of the other four adjectives, which show a lesser degree of grammaticalization: *identical* has only 17% grammaticalized uses, *different* 43.25% and *similar* and *comparable* 37% and 27.12% respectively. Moreover, as I will discuss in more detail in the following paragraphs, their grammaticalized uses are either in complementary distribution with those

5. No lexical uses of *other* were present in my data base (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1).

of *same* and *other*, and are restricted to more marked contexts, or they are used to emphasize special features of the identity/non-identity relations.

The different grammaticalized meanings of *identical*, *different*, *similar*, and *comparable* appear to be modelled on those of two basic grounding predications, *the same* and *(an)other*.⁶ *The same* may have constituted the model for the expression of phoric as well as internal referential identity for *the identical*, *(an) identical*, *(a) similar*, and *(a) comparable* in NPs with generalized reference. *The identical* expresses the same phoric and internal relations as *the same*, that is, co-referentiality with or without generalization as well as internal identity for generalized instances. But, it is markedly less frequent than *the same*. The other three grounding predications, *(an) identical*, *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable*, allow the speaker to explicitly mark a generalized instance that relates to different concrete instantiations as discourse-new. Because *same* developed its referential meanings through secondary grammaticalization of its emphaser use with definite identifier and invariantly combines with a definite determiner, it could only imply this aspect of the generalized instance (i.e. dual reference (Ward and Birner 1995)).

Another may have served as model for *(a) different* and *(a) similar| (a) comparable* in NPs denoting spatio-temporal instances. In comparison with *(an)other*, *(a) different* is both formally and semantically more restricted. Firstly, it is mainly used when the antecedent is an extended text referent or when it is an exophoric antecedent. In examples with ordinary anaphoric and cataphoric retrieval, by contrast, *(an)other* seems to be preferred. Secondly, it has not developed a pragmatic additive meaning like *(an)other*, but can only express the basic meaning of phoric non-identity, the designated instance and antecedent are not the same. *(A) similar* and *(a) comparable* differ from *(an)other* in that they foreground one particular aspect of the phoric relation, the shared type specification.

For completeness's sake, it has to be pointed out that there is in fact a third model for grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison in current English, which impinges only peripherally on the central corpus study of *same*, *identical*, *other*, *different*, *similar*, and *comparable*: that is, *several* for the adjectives of difference expressing NP-internal non-identity. Of the two adjectives of difference that I investigated, only *different* can

6. There are no other adjectives that combine non-identity with definite primary identification in imitation of *the other* in the data base. This is probably because it is an atypical combination that has a more complex and very specific value.

express internal non-identity. As observed in Chapter 6, *different* has a grammaticalized postdeterminer use as individualizing nominal aspect marker, but does not have a distinct quantifier use like *several*. The hypothesis was that *different* underwent only the first step of the double grammaticalization path suggested for adjectives of difference in NPs with internal comparison, that from attribute to postdeterminer use, and not the second step from postdeterminer to quantifier. However, as discussed in Section 6.6, there are a whole range of adjectives of difference, including *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *sundry*, and *various*, which might have been subject to a similar grammaticalization process (see Breban 2006a, 2008b). Out of these adjectives, *several* can be regarded as the current model for this grammaticalization path. Firstly, it has, like *same* and *other*, only grammaticalized uses in the data set of 200 examples that I compiled from the COBUILD corpus (Breban 2006a). Secondly, it displays the highest degree of integration into the quantifier paradigm, i.e. “paradigmaticization” (Lehmann 1985: 309, 1995: 135f; see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2), and, like ‘real’ quantifiers, it also allows relative quantifier use.

I will further develop this claim in Chapters 10 and 11, in which I will investigate whether diachronic data actually confirm the paths of grammaticalization arrived at on the basis of close analysis of synchronic data.

8.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have put forward a qualitative and quantitative analysis for two adjectives of similarity, *similar* and *comparable*, based on synchronic data sets. I hope to have shown that these adjectives provide the cornerstone for the grammaticalization hypothesis formulated in Chapter 4. That is to say, they lend support to the grammaticalization claim from descriptive likeness to referential identity and non-identity meanings by dividing into two types of referential uses, signaling either identity or non-identity. I further argued that even though the adjectives of similarity express the same basic referential relations as the postdeterminer uses of the adjectives of identity and difference, they always add some semantic or distributional aspect of their own. They are especially frequent when the generalized instance that they abstract from an antecedent instance is a quantitative specification. When they set up a relation of type-anaphora, they emphasize the common type specification of designated instance and antecedent. As a result, they seem to be preferred over *(an)other* and *(a) different* in examples with an elaborate type description.

I proposed that this special focus of the postdeterminer uses of adjectives of similarity is due to the persistence of their lexical semantics in the grammaticalization process.

A second important contribution of the adjectives of similarity is that they lend support to another claim, that the phoric classifier use is an extension of the phoric postdeterminer use. Like their postdeterminer uses, their phoric classifier uses also divide into one group establishing relations of identity and another one indicating non-identity. Moreover, these classifier uses appear to take over those features of the postdeterminer uses that are typical of adjectives of similarity. The phoric classifier use construing a relation of non-identity with the antecedent subtype is also especially frequent in examples in which the general type consists of an elaborate type description.

At the end of this chapter, I pursued the matter of the relation between the grammatical uses of the adjectives of similarity and those of identity and difference and the different grammaticalization paths hypothesized to have led to their development in greater depth. On the basis of comparison of the quantitative profiles of the grammaticalized uses of the six adjectives, I suggested that from a synchronic point of view, (1) the grammaticalized uses of adjectives of identity and difference appear to serve as models for the grammaticalization of adjectives of similarity, and that (2) two determiner + postdeterminer combinations, *the same* and *(an)other*, could have been models for the other adjectives of identity and difference as well as those of similarity. I will seek confirmation for these two claims in Chapter 10 on the basis of diachronic corpus analysis of the same six adjectives.

9. Adjectives of comparison in postnominal position

9.1. Introduction

Before proceeding to Part III reporting on two diachronic case studies lending support the grammaticalization claims made in this part, I will focus on one set of examples in the data base which has been left out so far, the examples in which the adjectives occur in postnominal position. In the description of the NP presented in Chapter 1, elements in postnominal position were not ascribed any specific function. Instead, I took over Bache's (2000: 161) analysis of this zone as 'multi-functional', which he posits without further argumentation. As we will see, the discussion of the postnominal adjectives of comparison in this chapter bears out Bache's (2000) claim in an interesting way. A close corpus-based study of these adjectives will make clear that three of the functions that the adjectives fulfil in prenominal position, postdeterminer, attribute, and classifier, can also be fulfilled by the adjectives in postnominal position.

I will also discuss how this multi-functional analysis of the postnominal zone goes against the analysis of amongst others Quirk et al. (1985: 418), who regard postposition as an alternative form of predication. The adjective following the head is seen as the predicative adjective in a reduced (copular) restrictive relative clause, e.g. "*something useful – something that is useful*" (Quirk et al. 1985: 418).¹ The corpus study of the adjectives of comparison provides evidence against this analysis as it cannot account for the occurrence of postnominal postdeterminers and classifiers, which are both functions that cannot be conveyed by predicative adjectives.²

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1. Teyssier (1968) points out that in addition to "implicit predicates", i.e. descriptive adjectives in postposition (Teyssier 1968: 244), the postnominal position can also be occupied by classifiers, e.g. "things French", "matters philosophical", and constructions such as "the Brave" in "*Alexander the Brave*" when the speaker wants to emphasize them (Teyssier 1968: 243).
 2. I will not be concerned with the semantic delineation of which attribute meanings can occur in postposition. It has been suggested in the literature (amongst others Bolinger 1967) that only meanings expressing a property as temporary can occur in postposition, e.g. *stars visible* versus *visible stars*.

9.2. Adjectives of comparison in postposition

At first glance, the data in which the adjectives of comparison occur in postnominal position divide into two types of constructions.

- (9.1) Lloyd George had originally been attracted to the idea of an inter-allied council specifically because he wanted **advice different from that of Haig and Robertson**. (CB)
- (9.2) You need to do **something different** to keep inspired Mr Franceschini said. (CB)

On the one hand, there are examples such as (9.1), in which the adjective is further complemented by a prepositional phrase (henceforth PP) referring to the second element of the comparison. This construction is representative of the typical patterning of postnominal adjectives of comparison. On the other hand, the corpus contains a smaller set of examples in which the NPs with a postnominal adjective of comparison have a special type of head noun, an indefinite pronoun such as *something*, *anyone* as in (9.2).³ I will discuss the characteristics of these two constructions in 2 separate sections.

9.2.1. Indefinite pronoun + adjective of comparison

The postposition of the adjective in examples such as (9.2), *something different*, can be related to the internal make-up of the indefinite pronoun which it modifies. Structurally, indefinite pronouns such as *something* consist of a determiner e.g. *some*, *any*, *no*, which is combined with a general head noun, e.g. *thing* or *body*. From a historical perspective, these two elements have fused into a single lexical item. As a result, when such indefinite pronouns are modified by an adjective, this adjective is unable to assume its usual prenominal position in between determiner and head, because of the fusion of the original determiner and the general head noun into one word form such as *something*. The adjective appears in the

3. These two types correspond to two of the three types of postposed adjectives distinguished by Quirk et al. (1985: 1293–1296): constructions with a head consisting of an indefinite pronoun and constructions in which the adjective phrase is heavy in relation to the head, prototypically because it contains a prepositional phrase or a non-finite verb phrase. Quirk et al.'s third type consists of idiomatic phrases such as *heir apparent*, *president elect* (see also Teyssier 1968).

other position that is close to the head, the postnominal position.⁴ So, it can be posited that the occurrence of the adjective in postnominal position in examples such as (9.2) is not determined by a specific feature of the adjective but by the special make-up of the head noun.

Four of the six adjectives studied here occur in the combination indefinite pronoun + postnominal adjective in the corpus data, *other*, *different*, *similar*, and *comparable*, as illustrated by (9.3–9.7).

- (9.3) The truth is, we can perhaps be grateful that **someone other than Catherine herself** was responsible for setting down what we know of her. (CB)
- (9.4) So screen violence may be justified as “realism” even though most of the audience will have no experience of **anything similar** in their own, real lives. (CB)
- (9.5) We have a national register of children at risk, but still **nothing comparable** on their predators. (CB)
- (9.6) The scenery is constantly changing, and there is always **something different** to see. Look carefully, and you might spot a pair of hooded hornbills, or even something wilder, there are still tigers in Malaysia and Thailand! (CB)
- (9.7) While most British visitors beat a well-worn path to the familiar tourist areas of the United States, Off The Beaten Track offer **something different**. They lead a Southwest Indian cultural and archaeological tour exploring New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona. (CB)

Even though all these examples instantiate the same construction, the functions of the postposed adjectives are not all the same. In some of the examples, (9.3) and (9.6), the adjectives *other* and *different* express a relation of non-identity and function as postdeterminers. *Other* in (9.3), for example, establishes a relation of non-identity between the referent of the NP and the referent of the PP, Catherine. It is not Catherine who told them what they know about her, but someone else. By contrast, the adjectives *similar*, *comparable*, and *different* in examples (9.4), (9.5), and (9.7) fulfil the function of attribute and denote a degree of likeness. In (9.4), *similar* expresses that none of the spectators have been confronted with something that is comparable to screen violence in their lives.

4. As noted by Quirk et al. (1985: 1294), prenominal position of the adjective is possible in the alternate construction *a* + adjective + *thing/one*, as illustrated by *something nasty* – *a nasty thing*, *someone young* – *a young one*.

In terms of the general distribution of the four postnominal adjectives over the functions of postdeterminer and attribute, the data show that *other* always has postdeterminer value in combination with an indefinite pronoun, as in (9.3), whereas the adjectives of similarity are always used as attributes expressing similarity/comparability as a gradable quality, as in (9.4) and (9.5). The fourth adjective, *different*, can have both a postdeterminer and an attribute function when it follows an indefinite pronoun. In (9.6) *there is always something different to see*, *different* is equivalent to *other* in (9.3): it expresses the postdeterminer meaning ‘not the same thing’ and the sentence can be paraphrased as ‘there is always something else, something new to see’. By contrast, in example (9.7), *While most British visitors beat a well-worn path to the familiar tourist areas of the United States, Off The Beaten Track offer something different*, *different* means something ‘qualitatively different’: holiday trips that are characterized by different qualitative features.

9.2.2. NP + adjective of comparison + PP

The pattern NP + adjective of comparison + PP is attested in the data for all adjectives except *same* (see Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 443).⁵ In postnominal position the adjectives can, as indicated above, express the same three functions that they fulfil in the premodifying slot, postdeterminer, attribute, and classifier. Examples (9.8–9.10) illustrate the three possibilities.

- (9.8) For the past month Israeli officials have frequently stressed that Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait demonstrates that the main problems in the Middle East stem from **causes other than Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip**. (CB)
- (9.9) The main type of life policy now sold is called term insurance: **a simple year-by-year life insurance similar to car or house insurance**. (CB)
- (9.10) The wise men seemed annoyed when they realized that all three of them were approaching the same people. Each must have assumed the others were there on **business other than pastoral** and had rudely chosen that moment to deal with it. (quoted from Martel 2003: 87)

5. A probable reason why *same* cannot occur in postnominal position might be the fact that *same* is much more than any of the other adjectives felt to form one fixed determiner unit together with the definite article.

The postdeterminer use in postnominal position, firstly, is illustrated in example (9.8). In this example, *other*, which as pointed out in Chapter 6 always realizes a referential function in the data, helps to identify the referent of the NP by means of a cataphoric relation of non-identity. It signals that the causes in question should be negatively identified as not the one cause that is usually put forward, i.e. the occupation of the Palestinian areas. In (9.9), the adjective *similar* functions as attribute: it conveys a high degree of likeness between the two entities that are being compared. Specifically in (9.9), it expresses that the current type of life-policy has many features in common with car or house insurance. Because of its attribute semantics, *similar* can be graded in examples such as (9.9), e.g. *a simple year-by-year life insurance very similar to car or house insurance*, or be used as a predicative adjective in a copular construction, e.g. *a simple year-by-year life insurance that is similar to car or house insurance*. Example (9.10), finally, illustrates the phoric classifier use of *other*. In this example *other* identifies a subtype of the general type on the basis of a relation of non-identity with the antecedent-subtype that is expressed in the PP. The interpretation of *other* in example (9.10) is very straightforward as its antecedent is the lexical classifier *pastoral*. It has to be noted that this classifier use is very infrequent. In fact, the corpus studied here did not contain any postnominal classifier examples.⁶

In the literature (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 418; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1120) it has been suggested that the postnominal construction is the reduced form of a predicative construction in which the NP is

6. The availability of the 'NP + adjective + PP' pattern leaves the speaker with two options when he wants to use an adjective of comparison that is complemented by a PP: he/she can either use the postmodification pattern discussed here, or the pattern in which the adjective of comparison occurs in its regular position in the premodifying slot of the NP while the PP constitutes the post-modifier. In the latter case, adjective and PP are separated by the head noun (and other premodifiers), as illustrated by (i). In the postmodification pattern, by contrast, the adjective of comparison and the PP are situated in the post-modifier and form a single unit, as in (ii).

- (i) Suppose that, instead of "Barn Burning", Faulkner had written another story told by Abner Snopes in the first person. Why would such a story need **a style different from that of "Barn Burning"**? (CB)
- (ii) And maybe Jane Eyre wasn't typical anyway because I mean it was **a different household to what a normal governess would go into**. (CB)

In the literature, the two patterns have been referred to as "continuous" versus "discontinuous" realization of the comparative unit (Quirk et al. 1985: 1348).

complemented by a restrictive relative clause and the adjective functions as predicate to a copular verb. For an example such as (9.9), this means that the NP *a simple year-by-year life insurance similar to car or house insurance* has to be read as *a simple year-by-year life insurance [that is] similar to car or house insurance*.⁷ This analysis is prompted by the possible alternation of adjectives such as *similar* in (9.9) with predicative use in a copular restrictive relative clause. However, it makes the inaccurate prediction that all adjectives in postposition have a predicative alternate. I do not agree with this analysis as it can only account for the attribute uses of adjectives in postposition. The possibility of predicative alternation is motivated by the semantic equivalence between attribute and predicative use, which both convey 'quality-attribution'. Postdeterminers and classifiers have a completely different semantic import: they help the identification of the referent set and derive subtypes of the general type respectively. As such they do not lend themselves to predicative alternation. The reduced restrictive relative clause analysis thus only explains the presence of attribute uses in postnominal position and not that of postdeterminers and classifiers, which as shown by examples (9.8) and (9.10) do occur.

In my data, four adjectives display a postnominal attribute use: *similar*, as in (9.9), *different*, *identical*, and *comparable*. Examples (9.11–9.13) illustrate the postnominal attribute use of the latter three adjectives.

- (9.11) Several years later, in India, he was convinced by Annie Besant, president of the Theosophical Society, that his book put forward **a point of view different from anything else in English**. (CB)
- (9.12) For the picture the duchess is seen sporting **a suit almost identical to that worn by her daughter Lady Helen Windsor for her engagement pictures last month**. (CB)

7. It should be pointed out that there are some examples in the corpus data, e.g. (i), which can in fact only be analyzed as reduced restrictive relative clauses and not as ordinary postnominal adjectives.

(i) Toni gazed at her with **a steadiness very different from the dancing vivacity which his eyes had held in the old days when they encountered the eyes of a woman**. (CB)

The analysis of (i) as containing a reduced restrictive relative clause rather than a postposed attribute is based on the impossibility of alternation with the discontinuous pattern, **a very different steadiness from the dancing vivacity*, which entails that the 'dancing vivacity' is a kind of 'steadiness'.

- (9.13) Checkmate estimated that Iraq could launch three hundred planes simultaneously, half attacking Tel Aviv and the other half Riyadh. Such a counterstrike, although suicidal and of dubious military value, might provide Saddam with **a psychological victory comparable to the Viet Cong's Tet offensive in 1968**, a tactical failure that became a strategic victory because it undermined morale on the American home front. (CB)

In addition to their postnominal attribute use, all four adjectives can also function postnominally as postdeterminers. They then either express identity or non-identity of reference with the antecedent in the prepositional phrase. As postdeterminers, post-head *identical*, *similar*, and *comparable*, convey that the same generalized instance is associated with different circumstances. For instance, in (9.14), *identical*, expresses that Nadal's lecture and drinking six cans of Coors have the same effect on Ray, that is, making him fall asleep. The adjectives of similarity always express quantitative equality between two situations as in (9.15) and (9.16).⁸

- (9.14) As a result, this interminable lecture Felipe Nadal was giving him about the causa, the courage of the contras for whom he was flying arms and the iniquities of their foes, was producing in Ray **a reaction identical to that produced by half a dozen cans of Coors**. He was falling asleep. (CB)
- (9.15) Scientists have discovered that a couple of nights' sleep deprivation causes a **drop in hand/eye coordination similar to that of drunk drivers**, while the body's natural lines of defence against infections and cancer are lowered. (CB)
- (9.16) In a challenge to Avon health authority, which funds most of the centre the consultants say that patients must be told "why they are not receiving **a level of care comparable to that in other parts of the country**" if the service is to be restricted. (CB)

8. David Denison (p.c.) remarked that these three examples can be turned into NPs with a restrictive relative clause and the adjective functioning as predicate. However, to my mind, a similar operation changes the meaning of the adjectives from designating 'the same quantity' to an attribute reading conveying similarities in quality. For *comparable* in (9.16), the predicative alternate expresses the attribute meaning, 'that can be compared' (see Chapter 8, Section 8.2.2).

The postnominal postdeterminer use of *different* construes a phoric relation of non-identity with the antecedent denoted in the prepositional phrase, e.g. (9.17).

- (9.17) If you would like your parcel to be sent to **an address different from that given opposite**, or if your address has changed, please write delivery/correct address here. (CB)

Because of the small number of data in which the adjectives occur in postnominal position, I will not make any general claims about the relative frequency of the postdeterminer versus attribute use in this position.⁹

The final adjective, *other*, is always used as postdeterminer in postposition in my data. As in its prenominal postdeterminer use, *other* signals the introduction of a new referent that can either be ‘a different one’ from the antecedent or ‘an additional one’, as illustrated in (9.18) and (9.19) respectively.

- (9.18) “On the industry’s evidence I can see no good reason to close down Lawnton or locate Beenleigh,” Cooper said yesterday. “There are many in the industry who strongly suspect that these decisions were made for **reasons other than commonsense**.” (CB)
- (9.19) Mobius, a doctor of economics, is president of the American-based Templeton Emerging Markets Fund Inc and also runs the London-quoted Templeton Emerging Markets Investment Trust. He has a working knowledge of **four languages other than English**: some Japanese, Cantonese, Thai and Spanish. He is a native New Yorker often described as the spitting image of the late Yul Brynner, the actor. (CB)

In addition to the uses illustrated in these examples, the data contain a special use of *other* in postposition. In some data, postnominal *other* seems not to function as postdeterminer to the head complemented by a prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (9.20) Then if you look at their policy on local roads, that is **all the rest of the road system other than motorways and trunk roads**, that which the County Council looks after, [. . .] (CB)

9. A more detailed corpus study focussing on postnominal uses of *different* and *similar* (Breban 2005) suggested that neither use was favoured over the other.

- (9.21) Pedigree Petfoods' products contain all the vitamins and minerals a dog needs, when fed as directed. They are suitable for everyday feeding without the addition of **any extras, other than water**. (CB)

In (9.20), for example, postnominal *other* is redundant with *the rest of*, and has therefore no prenominal alternate. Likewise, in examples such as (9.21) the comma appears to indicate that *other* is not felt to be part of the NP. A second set of examples such as (9.22) and (9.23) straightforwardly reject the possibility of a postdeterminer interpretation.

- (9.22) The secretary of State was rarely invited to Downing Street **other than for Cabinet**. (CB)
- (9.23) CAP reported one major donation of \$2,500 from the Crescent Park Neighborhood Association. **Other than that**, most donations were for \$100 or less, and they came from a variety of people: retirees, doctors, professors, homemakers, artists and business people. (CB)

In (9.22), *other* does not modify (in the broad sense) the preceding noun, but the entire preceding proposition. As such, the adjective has detached itself from the NP, which is clearly shown in examples such as (9.23), in which *other than X* occurs without a preceding NP. Instead, in this type of examples, *other* appears to form a single unit with the preposition *than*. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1145) state that “*other than* is construed as a compound preposition with a meaning like “besides, except, apart”” and note that the status of *other than* as a prepositional unit is especially apparent in examples where *other than* “introduces an adjunct”, as in (9.24) and (9.25).¹⁰

10. In the literature it is a moot point whether the development of complex prepositions constitutes a case of grammaticalization or lexicalization (amongst others Ramat 1992: 553–554; Schwenter and Traugott 1995; Tabor and Traugott 1998: 244–253; Brinton 2002: 69–70; Lehmann 2002: 9–10; Traugott 2003b: 636; Brinton and Traugott 2005: 64–65). The discussion is part of a larger debate about the conceptions of grammaticalization, lexicalization and the relation between them present in the literature: amongst others Kuryłowicz (1975 [1965]), Lehmann (1989), Ramat (1992), Hagège (1993), Giacalone Ramat (1998), Moreno Cabrera (1998), Wischer (2000), Brinton (2002), Lehmann (2002), Van der Auwera (2002), Himmelmann (2004). The most recent major contribution to the topic, Brinton and Traugott (2005), wants to present a definitive, unifying analysis of the relation between grammaticaliza-

- (9.24) **Other than this very significant result**, most of the information now available about the radio emission of the planets is restricted to the intensity of the radiation. (quoted in Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1145)
- (9.25) For a long time we didn't talk **other than to confirm our common destination**. (quoted in Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1145)

9.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed a final set of uses of adjectives of comparison: those found postnominally in the NP. Occurring in this position,

tion and lexicalization. Brinton and Traugott argue that the basis for the conflicting analyses lies in the problematic definition of lexicalization; they hold that the broad definition 'adoption of an item in the lexicon' in fact encompasses grammaticalization as well as lexicalization. Instead, they propose a new analysis in terms of shared and distinguishing features: grammaticalization is, in contrast to lexicalization, constrained by a number of specific processes, such as decategorialization, bleaching, subjectification, increased frequency and productivity, and typological generalization (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 145). On a more intuitive level, the two processes can be distinguished on the basis of their respective output, i.e. items with a lexically specific versus a grammatical/functional content. Specifically for the case of complex prepositions, Brinton and Traugott (2005) attempt to solve the discussion by listing several features typical of grammaticalization such as decategorialization, bleaching and subjectification, and typological generalization (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 145). Considering complex preposition *other than* in the light of these criteria seems to favour a lexicalization analysis. Even though *other than* has expanded to new types of second elements such as verbal complements and prepositional phrases, as in (9.21) and (9.24), generalization appears to be the only positive indication suggesting grammaticalization. The construction does not show any external signs of decategorialization such as the loss of the definite article in the complex preposition *in place of* from *in the place of* (Schwenter and Traugott 1995: 255), and *other* seems to have retained its original semantic value to a large extent: the two possible meanings 'except'/'apart' and 'besides' manifest a continuation of the postdeterminer meanings 'a different' and 'an additional'. However, as observed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1145), the structural origin of *other than* involves reanalysis from a '(N + adjective) + PP' structure to a 'X + (adjective + preposition) + X' structure, which can be viewed as conducive to a grammaticalization analysis after all.

the adjectives regularly fulfil postdeterminer and attribute functions and can also function as classifier. As such, this corpus study has provided real language evidence in support of Bache's (2000) analysis of the post-head zone of the NP as a multi-functional zone. Moreover, the possibility of postnominal postdeterminers and classifiers makes clear that the analysis of postnominal adjectives as reduced restrictive relative clauses (Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston and Pullum 2002) is untenable and can only account for part of the actual postnominal uses.

Part III. Diachronic corpus studies

10. Diachronic corpus study of six adjectives of comparison

10.1. Introduction and description of the data base

In this chapter I investigate to what extent the grammaticalization and subjectification hypothesis formulated for six representative adjectives of comparison, *other*, *different*, *same*, *identical*, *similar*, and *comparable*, on the basis of synchronic corpus analyses (see Part II) is confirmed by their actual diachronic development. To this end, I have conducted a diachronic corpus study of *other*, *different*, *same*, *identical*, *similar* and *comparable*, the results of which are summarized in this chapter.¹ The historical corpus data that I studied are taken from two historical data bases, the Helsinki corpus and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (henceforth CLMET). The diachronic part of the Helsinki corpus is a 1.5 million words corpus that spans the period 750 to 1710. It aims at offering a representative coverage of the written language from the Old, Middle and Early Modern (British) English periods, whereby attention has been paid to geographical dialect, type and register of writing and sociolinguistic variation (see Rissanen et al. 1993). The CLMET was recently compiled by Hendrik De Smet on the basis of texts drawn from the Project Gutenberg and the Oxford Text Archives (see De Smet 2005). It consists of almost ten million words and covers the period 1710–1920.

I extracted seven random samples for each of the six adjectives covering seven different periods, 750–1050, 1050–1250, 1250–1500, 1500–1710, taken from the Helsinki corpus, and 1710–1780, 1780–1850, 1850–1920 from the CLMET. For the older extractions I used all the different spelling variants listed in the OED and MED as queries in order to obtain a representative sample of the adjective in that particular period. The different samples contain (if possible) 100 instantiations of the respective adjectives, but were enlarged to 200 instantiations if this was necessary to arrive at an accurate picture of the distribution of the adjective involved. I further supplemented the data with information and examples found in the OED, the MED, and the ASD.

1. An earlier, less detailed, discussion of the corpus study has appeared as Breban (2006c).

On the basis of this historical material, I will try to describe the different uses of the six adjectives in each of the seven periods in more detail and provide an accurate representation of their quantitative distribution. I am fully aware of the limitations of these basic quantitative conclusions. The samples used are restricted in number because they were taken from the often limited diachronic material that was available. The samples are also restricted in terms of genre, as they are drawn from written material only. I have still chosen to include these conclusions, even with their obvious shortcomings, because they constitute an important dimension of the development of the adjectives. In this respect, it has to be noted that the quantitative analysis of the data is limited to the discussion of the relative frequencies of the different uses. The basic hypothesis is that grammaticalization can be observed in the increase of grammaticalized uses over the subsequent periods (Bybee 2003). Bybee (2003: 203–205) actually suggests that grammaticalization goes together with a double increase in frequency: an increase in ‘type frequency’, which deals with the spread over the type of contexts that the grammaticalizing item/construction can occur in, and in ‘token frequency’. In this chapter, I will mainly be concerned with the latter type of frequency.² I will calculate the relative frequency of each use for each individual adjective and compare it with the relative frequency of the same use for the other adjectives.

I will present the findings for the different adjectives per semantic field: adjectives of difference in 10.2, identity in 10.3, and similarity in 10.4. Section 10.5 brings the diachronic findings together and assesses to what extent they lend support to the grammaticalization and subjectification hypothesis.

10.2. Adjectives of difference

10.2.1. *Other*

As discussed in Chapter 6, *other* is fully grammatical in my current English data: the only uses encountered in the synchronic data are phoric postdeterminer (sometimes integrated in a complex construction) and phoric classifier uses (see Table 10.1).

2. A detailed discussion of the role of frequency data in grammaticalization can be found in Krug (1998), Bybee (1985, 2001, 2003) and Hoffman (2006).

Table 10.1. Historical distribution of the different uses of *other*

	750– 1050	1050– 1250	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %	1 <i>1</i>							
prenominal %	99 <i>99</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	199 <i>99.5</i>	197 <i>98.5</i>	397 <i>99.25</i>
attribute %	4 <i>4</i>	4 <i>4</i>				2 <i>1</i>		
postdeterminer %	92 <i>92</i>	93 <i>93</i>	91 <i>91</i>	98 <i>98</i>	197 <i>98.5</i>	194 <i>97</i>	193 <i>96.5</i>	358 <i>89.5</i>
quantifier								
phoric classifier %	3 <i>3</i>	3 <i>3</i>	9 <i>9</i>	2 <i>2</i>	3 <i>1.5</i>	3 <i>1.5</i>	4 <i>2</i>	31 <i>7.75</i>
attribute- postdeterminer								
postdeterminer- quantifier								
complex conjunc- tive adverb %								8 <i>2</i>
postnominal %						1 <i>0.5</i>	3 <i>1.5</i>	3 <i>0.75</i>
attribute %						1 <i>0.5</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	
postdeterminer %							2 <i>1</i>	1 <i>0.25</i>
complex preposition %								2 <i>0.5</i>
total %	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	400 <i>100</i>

However, as shown in Table 10.1, the diachronic data up until 1920 still contain a few examples of lexical (attribute and predicative) uses, which in current English have to be expressed by *different*. The lexical uses that are present in the data can be ranged into two sets that are found widely separately in time. The data for the periods 750–1050 and 1050–1250 include a small portion of lexical uses, more specifically, one predica-

tive and four attribute examples for the former period, one of which is reproduced here as (10.1), and four attributes for the latter. In these examples *other* expresses unlikeness similar to Present-day English *different*.

- (10.1) & manege þara þe me ne licodon ic awarep mid minra witenas
gedeahte, & **on oðre wisan** bebead to healdanne. (HC 850–950)³
'And many there who did not like me I turned around with the
advice of my counselors, and bade to behave **in a different way**'

Then there is a long period, 1250–1780, in which the lexical use is no longer encountered in the data and in which *other* seems to have lost the ability to express this kind of likeness meaning. The data from 1780–1920, however, again contain a few examples of lexical *other*, e.g. (10.2) and (10.3).

- (10.2) "You should be friends with your cousin, Mr Hareton,"
I interrupted, "since she repents of her sauciness. It would do you
a great deal of good; it would make you **another man** to have her
for a companion." (CLMET 1780–1850)
- (10.3) Mr Reardon, it was true, did not impress one as a man likely to
push forward where the battle called for rude vigour, but Amy
soon assured herself that he would have **a reputation far other than
that of the average successful storyteller**. (CLMET 1850–1920)

But these examples are all instantiations of two specific phrases, the phrase *another man* in the sense of 'a changed man', as in (10.2), or the set phrase *a N far other than*, in which *other* is used as a postnominal attribute, e.g. (10.3). So, rather than a productive lexical use, the likeness examples of *other* in this second period are restricted to certain fossilized phrases.

As noted in Chapter 6, the lexical meaning of *other* is also recognized as a separate meaning by the main reference works, OED, ASD and MED. Moreover, they also contain examples of lexical uses for periods that did not contain any lexical uses in the corpus data, e.g. (10.4) and (10.5).

- (10.4) a1450(a1338) Mannyng Chron.Pt.13954: Eumaneus was Morganes
broþer, Bot his maners were **alle oþer**. (MED Vol. 14: 333)
'Eumaneus was Morgane's brother, But his manners were
completely different.'

3. The examples from the Helsinki corpus are marked 'HC' and those from the CLMET 'CLMET'; the source is also accompanied by a specification of the period from which the example dates.

- (10.5) **1643** TRAPP *Comm. Gen.* Xxxiii. 4 Latomus of Lorain wrote, that there was **no other a faith** in Abraham, then in Cicero. (OED Vol. 7: 229)

In the Present-day English data, there are no longer examples of *other* as a lexical qualitative adjective. In this respect, the diachronic corpus material of *other* confirms the grammaticalization analysis.

As Table 10.1 shows, the distribution of the grammatical uses of *other* remains stable over the different subcorpora. The vast majority (always about or over 90%) are phoric postdeterminer uses, but there is always a smaller set of phoric classifier uses attested (ranging from 1.5% to 9%).

In the data from 1850–1920, the postdeterminer use, which was until then found in prenominal position only, is extended to postnominal position in the construction *no(ne) other (than X)*, e.g. (10.6).

- (10.6) This visitor was **no other than Prince Ernest**. (CLMET1850–1920)

In the current English data, this postnominal postdeterminer use, as discussed in Chapter 9 (Section 9.2.3), gives rise to the formation of a complex preposition *other than* meaning ‘except (for)’, ‘besides’, as illustrated in (10.7) and (10.8) respectively.

- (10.7) Tunisian officials are refusing to expand on the communique, **other than** to indicate that Mr. Mahjoubi is suspected of having used his former position of police commissioner for personal ends. (CB)

- (10.8) And you know, people are often saying, well, chimpanzees and humans are very alike, we share 98 of our DNA, of our genetic material. We have so much in common in our behaviour, and what is the real difference? Well **other than** that other 1.8 genetic difference [*sic*], to me, the real key thing about humans is that we have developed a spoken language. (CB)

As discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.5.1.4), the adjective *other* is also found in the complex adverbial conjunction *on the other hand* in current English. As indicated in Table 10.1, the sample 1710–1780 contains the first three examples in which *on the other hand* occurs in its own right without the preceding phrase *on the one hand*. The data from the two following periods contain respectively one and six instantiations of the conjunctive item. It can be noted that in the earliest examples, e.g. (10.9) from 1710–1780, the contrastive meaning of the complex conjunction *on the other hand* is often enhanced by the occurrence of other contrastive

elements in the context. In the examples from a later date such contextual strengthening is no longer found, e.g. (10.10).

- (10.9) If, on the contrary, the supply, by some accident, should increase, for many years together, in a greater proportion than the demand, that metal would gradually become cheaper and cheaper; or, in other words, the average money price of corn would, in spite of all improvements, gradually become dearer and dearer. But if, **on the other hand**, the supply of that metal should increase nearly in the same proportion as the demand, it would continue to purchase or exchange for nearly the same quantity of corn; and the average money price of corn would, in spite of all improvements continue very nearly the same. (CB)
- (10.10) Smiling and sighing, she laid her hand upon the door. It opened. The house was not locked up at all. She hesitated. Ought she to wait for Henry? He felt strongly about property, and might prefer to show her over himself. **On the other hand**, he had told her to keep in the dry, and the porch was beginning to drip. (CB)

In sum, the most important conclusion that can be drawn is that the development of *other* over these diachronic samples confirms the grammaticalization hypothesis. The data show the loss of the likeness semantics in favour of a fully grammatical semantics.

10.2.2. *Different*

Although the earliest examples of *different* cited in the OED (Vol. 3: 341) and the MED (Vol. 4: 1077) date back to 1400 and 1384 respectively, the first attestations of *different* in the Helsinki corpus are two examples dating from the period 1570–1640; more specifically, there is in this period one example of a predicative use and one postdeterminer example, as indicated in Table 10.2.

So, the diachronic corpus material does not contain a stage in which *different* only displays lexical uses. All the examples dating from before 1570 quoted in the OED and MED are, however, strictly lexical uses (both attribute as in (10.11) and predicate as in (10.12)), which seems to confirm that *different* underwent the predicted grammaticalization process.

- (10.11) (c1449) Pecock Repr.438: Petir . . . was heed in **a dyuers and different maner** fro ech other Apostle. (MED Vol. 4: 1077)
 ‘Peter . . . was regarded in **a distinct and different way** from every other Apostle.’

Table 10.2. Historical distribution of the different uses of *different*

	750– 1050	1050– 1250	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %				4 <i>31</i>	29 <i>14.5</i>	45 <i>22.5</i>	60 <i>30</i>	92 <i>23</i>
prenominal %				8 <i>61.5</i>	159 <i>79.5</i>	149 <i>74.5</i>	128 <i>64</i>	298 <i>74.5</i>
attribute %				3 <i>23</i>	25 <i>12.5</i>	32 <i>16</i>	51 <i>25.5</i>	113 <i>28.25</i>
postdeterminer %				5 <i>38.5</i>	115 <i>57.5</i>	94 <i>47</i>	66 <i>33</i>	163 <i>40.75</i>
quantifier %						2 <i>1</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	4 <i>1</i>
phoric classifier								
attribute- postdeterminer %					16 <i>8</i>	17 <i>8.5</i>	8 <i>4</i>	15 <i>3.75</i>
postdeterminer- quantifier %					3 <i>1.5</i>	4 <i>2</i>	2 <i>1</i>	3 <i>0.75</i>
postnominal %				1 <i>7.5</i>	12 <i>6</i>	6 <i>3</i>	12 <i>6</i>	10 <i>2.5</i>
attribute %				1 <i>7.5</i>	11 <i>5.5</i>	5 <i>2.5</i>	11 <i>5.5</i>	7 <i>1.75</i>
postdeterminer %					1 <i>0.5</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	3 <i>0.75</i>
total %	0	0	0	13 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	400 <i>100</i>

- (10.12) c1450 *De CMulieribus* 391: *Voyce and stature wass lytell different Twyx hirr and hym.* (MED Vol. 4: 1077)
 ‘Voice and height were **not very different** between her and him.’

The proportion lexical versus grammatical uses in the CLMET data, which are the first data for which we have large enough samples to make any quantitative observations, does not straightforwardly support the grammaticalization hypothesis either. As shown in Table 10.2, the number of lexical uses increases over the period 1710–1920 at the expense of the grammatical, especially postdeterminer, uses, going from 66 lexical uses versus 119 grammatical uses for the period 1710–1780, and 82 versus 101

for 1780–1850, to 122 versus 70 for 1850–1920. In the COBUILD data the situation is straightened out a little bit resulting in 212 lexical uses versus 173 grammatical ones. But, as will become clear from the following discussion, several secondary factors can be shown to be responsible for the decrease in postdeterminer uses and the corresponding increase in lexical uses in the CLMET data.

Other less conspicuous aspects of the corpus material, nevertheless, do provide additional support for the grammaticalization analysis. In contrast to *other*, the postdeterminer uses of *different* consist, throughout the entire diachronic corpus, of two types (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4): a majority of individualizing postdeterminer uses in NPs with internal comparison and a small group of phoric postdeterminer uses. In terms of their quantitative evolution, it can be noted that the decrease of postdeterminer uses observed in the CLMET data is caused by a decrease of the first type of postdeterminer uses. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 11 (Section 11.3.2, Table 11.4), their number goes from 97 out of 200 in the 1710–1780 data, over 78 out of 200 in the 1780–1850 sample, to 50 out of 200 in the 1850–1920 data. The number of phoric postdeterminer uses remains stable over the different samples, 18 out of 200 for the 1710–1780 and 16 out of 200 for the two later sets. What I want to focus on in this section is that for both types of postdeterminers, the data reveal, through the different historical periods, further processes of semantic change. More specifically, the data attest a secondary process of grammaticalization for the individualizing postdeterminers and contain evidence of specialization for the phoric postdeterminers.

Firstly, when *different* is used as individualizing postdeterminer in a plural NP with internal comparison, it manifests an analogous process of grammaticalization to other semantically similar adjectives such as *various*, *sundry*, *divers*, and *several*. These adjectives, which all originally express difference or dissimilarity of some kind, display a development from expressing dissimilarity via the individualizing postdeterminer use to a quantifier meaning in indefinite NPs that can be paraphrased as ‘several, more than one’. The different stages in the grammaticalization development of the quantifier use of *different* can be observed in Table 10.2. In the period 1710–1780 the first examples appear in which *different* is vague between a postdeterminer and a quantifying reading. In the next period, 1780–1850, the first examples occur that have a quantifier reading only. In the data from the following periods, the quantifier use remains present, but does not show any further numerical increase. I will discuss the precise distribution of these two grammaticalized uses of *different* in Chapter 11 (Section 11.3.2), which reports on the diachronic analysis of this adject-

tive in relation to those of other adjectives of difference such as *distinct*, *various*, and *several*.

With respect to the phoric postdeterminer use, secondly, the diachronic data show a process of specialization in the sense of a restriction of the contexts in which *different* can be used. Compared to the possibilities of phoric *other*, the phoric postdeterminer use of *different* has always been restricted: it has always been limited to indefinite NPs. But, as discussed in Chapter 6, especially in the COBUILD material, the contexts in which *different* occurs as a phoric postdeterminer are drastically reduced, leaving typically contexts in which the antecedent is either a text referent or is part of the extra-verbal context of situation (see Chapter 6, Section 6.5.1.3.2), as illustrated in (10.13) and (10.14) respectively.

- (10.13) What you doing in science at the moment? Erm well we're doing compounds and what makes up compounds and stuff like and water and doing experiments on water and how to make water into hydrogen and oxygen and hydrogen and oxygen into water. Mhm. Erm we're now doing what was it erm we were doing a couple of weeks ago about erm nails and how they rust and we were setting up experiments and that. Mhm. What did you do at the beginning of term er was it that as well or have you or have you covered a bit more? Well we're doing we're on a **different topic** now. (CB)
- (10.14) My husband speaks very well but his job involves my answering the phone on his behalf quite a bit of the time. Yesterday he said, very nicely, that he wished I had **a different accent** – I'm pure Scouse – because he didn't think it sounded good to his clients. (CB)

The COBUILD data for *other* show that these are exactly the contexts in which *other* loses ground. The phoric postdeterminer uses of *other* and *different* thus appear to be in complementary distribution. For *different*, this entails that its phoric postdeterminer use is limited to more marginal contexts. However, when this observation is combined with the quantitative stability of the phoric postdeterminer uses in the data, it can be deduced that *different* actually gains ground in these specific contexts.⁴

4. The idea that specialization of contexts can be taken as an indicator of the entrenchment of grammaticalized uses goes against Bybee's (2003) concept of type-frequency and Himmelfmann's (2004) similar notion of host-class expansion, which both stipulate that grammaticalization goes together with

Thus, even though the data for *different* are at first sight problematic: several factors such as the fact that older examples, predating those found in the Helsinki corpus, from OED and MED do imply a lexical-only stage, and the suggestion that the phoric postdeterminer use does not increase in general but only in certain specific contexts, are supportive of the grammaticalization analysis in general. With regard to the specific grammaticalization path from NP-internal attribute use to quantifier use, the data confirm that the quantifier use develops later than the individualizing postdeterminer use of *different*. The situation of these postdeterminer uses, however, appears to be more complex, and will benefit from the further analysis in relation to other adjectives of difference that display the same grammatical uses in Chapter 11.

10.3. Adjectives of identity

10.3.1. *Same*

Although *same* was argued to function in current English as a model for the grammaticalization of the adjectives of identity (see Chapter 7), the diachronic data show that the adjective itself did not undergo grammaticalization from an original lexical use in the NP in the history of English. As indicated in Table 10.3, there are no examples of lexical uses of *same* in the data; from its earliest uses in the English NP on, *same* is used with a grammatical meaning either as emphazier/postdeterminer in its own right or in the complex constructions *all the same* and *at the same time*.

However, as remarked in Chapter 7, the etymological information available in the OED (Vol. 9: 74) implies a lexical origin in earlier stages than English. It is stated that *same* was originally an Indo-Germanic word, reconstructed as **somo*, this word is in turn related to the Sanskrit word *samá* ('level', 'equal', 'same'), which has a lexical semantics. In addition, it can be noted that in my Old-English data (750–1050), *same* is present in a special fixed construction which went out of use after this period. The Old-English variant of *same*, *sama*, is always part of the

an increase of the contexts in which the grammaticalizing item can occur. However, as I will elaborate in Chapter 11, when competition between different grammaticalizing items is involved, grammaticalization can go together with a distribution of the different items over different contexts rather than a general increase of the contexts in which they are found.

Table 10.3. Historical distribution of the different meanings of *same*

	750– 1050	1050– 1250	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative								
prenominal %			100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	400 <i>100</i>
attribute								
postdeterminer %			100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	93 <i>93</i>	91 <i>91</i>	88 <i>88</i>	357 <i>89.25</i>
quantifier								
phoric classifier								
attribute- postdeterminer								
postdeterminer- quantifier								
complex con- junctive adverb %					7 <i>7</i>	9 <i>9</i>	12 <i>12</i>	43 <i>10.75</i>
postnominal								
attribute								
postdeterminer								
combination <i>swa same</i> %	21 <i>100</i>							
total %	21 <i>100</i>	0	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	400 <i>100</i>

adverbial construction *swa sama (swa)* ‘so same (as)’ equivalent to Present-day English ‘in the same way’. *Same* here seems to have a lexical value with a propositional content comparable to Present-day English *equal*. So, although *same* always has grammatical semantics in the English NP, there are indications of an earlier lexical meaning associated with *same*.

As shown in Table 10.3, the quantitative distribution of *the same* remains almost identical throughout the different subcorpora. *Same* is, except for the Old-English data, always used with grammatical semantics. However, as the following discussion will show, these grammatical uses

are not completely equivalent. In Chapter 7 (Section 7.3), I suggested on the basis of the historical descriptions of *same* in the OED (Vol. 9: 74–76) and the MED (Vol. 18: 66–67) that *same* originally functioned as emphasizer of the definite article in English, e.g. (10.15), and that this early grammatical use through further grammaticalization evolved into the postdeterminer use expressing referential identity.

- (10.15) (a1420) Lydg. *TB* 3.3281: **þe same nexte niȝt** ... it sempte in þe hiȝe hevene þe cataractis hadde bene vn-do (MED Vol. 18: 67)
 ‘**That next night** ... it seemed that in the high heaven the floodgates had been undone.’

In examples such as (10.15), *same* is added to the definite determiner that is already in place to stress the correct identification of the referent. In this capacity, *same* replaces the Old-English emphasizers *self* and *ilca* (see ASD: 860 for *self* and 587 for *ilca*). Because of their emphatic nature, these markers relatively easily lose their strengthening effect and hence their usefulness, and are subject to frequent “renewal” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 122–124; see Meillet’s (1915–1916) concept of ‘renouvellement’) by other semantically similar words. *Same* itself will, in the same way, later lose ground to new emphatic markers such as *very* (see Adamson and González-Díaz 2005) and *identical* (see Section 10.4.2).

However, as the most common means of establishing the identity of the referent is by establishing co-reference, the value of *same* is in most of the emphasizer examples very close to that of phoric postdeterminer expressing referential identity. In (10.16), for example, *same* emphasizes that the referent of the NP is indeed the precise Salomon that was talked about earlier. In this way, the emphasizer meaning of *same* naturally develops into the phoric postdeterminer meaning.

- (10.16) For Salomon seith that ‘ydelnesse techeth a man to do manye yveles.’ And **the same Salomon** seith that ‘he that travailleth and bisieth hym to tilien his land shal eten breed, but he that is ydel and casteth hym to no bisynesse ne occupacioun shal falle into poverte and dye for hunger.’ (HC 1350–1420)
 ‘Because Salomon said that ‘idleness teaches a man to do many evils.’ And **that same Salomon** said that ‘he who works and keeps himself busy to work his land will eat bread, but he who is idle and does not busy or occupy himself will fall into poverty and will die of hunger.’

As a result of its emphasizer origin, *same* always combines with definite primary determination as a postdeterminer.

Theoretically, the separation of the postdeterminer meaning from the emphasizer use occurs when *the same* comes to be used in examples where *same* is ‘necessary’ for the expression of co-referentiality because the definite determiner alone cannot effect this relation, and where, as a consequence, the emphasizing meaning is backgrounded (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1). However, in actual data the distinction is often very difficult to make because the two meanings are so closely related.⁵ In my data, there are no examples such as (10.15) *the same next night* in which a phoric postdeterminer analysis is excluded and in which the only possible analysis for *same* is an emphasizer interpretation. There are, however, examples in which the emphatic value is still very strongly present, such as (10.16) *the same Salomon*. Moreover, the change from emphasizer to postdeterminer signalling referential identity is observable in the change of the specific construction patterns in which *the same* occurs. These changes are especially striking in the 1250–1500, 1500–1710, and 1710–1780 data.

In the subcorpus 1250–1500, the NPs containing *same* very often repeat the type specification of their antecedent NP. In addition, it seems generally to be the case that this antecedent closely precedes the NP containing *same*, e.g. (10.17).

- (10.17) And Also my wyll ys thys, that he & hys Executours, other hys assygnys, haue gouernance of **my prest**, & for to paye to **the same prest** for the terme of thre yers After my deses, ȝyf he be of good conuersacion, & Cunne devyne seruyse, xx.li. (HC 1350–1420)
- ‘And also my will is this, that he and his executors, or his heirs, have governance of my priest, and (my will is for them) to pay to **the same priest** for the term of three years after my death, if he is of good conversation, and knows divine service, XXLI.’
- (10.18) he shewed to Thomas Stamford a dede ensealed that Crystyan Nele somtyme of Brystowe made vnder her seal. And also vnder the Meyres seale: to Willyam Combe somtyme Burgeis of Bristowe: of certeyn londes And tenementes: yn the towne: and þe subarbes of Bristowe: And whan he had shewed the same dede: vn to the same Thomas: the same Thomas toke the seales yn his honde: and desyred the foresaid dede. (HC 1420–1500)

5. A more detailed analysis of the development of *same* from emphasizer to phoric and non-phoric postdeterminer can be found in Breban (2010).

‘he showed to Thomas Stamford a sealed deed that Crystyan Nele at one time of Brystowe made under her seal. And also under the Mair’s seal: to Willyam Combe at one time Citizen of Bristowe: of certain lands and tenements: in the town: and the suburbs of Bristowe: And when he had shown the same deed: unto **the same Thomas: the same Thomas** took the seals in his hands: and desired the aforementioned deed.’

Example (10.18) illustrates one particular type of NPs that is encountered in this first subcorpus and has disappeared in the later data, that is, NPs in which *the same* is combined with a proper name head. As explained in Section 7.3.1, *the same* is redundant as a phoric postdeterminer in this type of NPs as the proper name itself is sufficient to put the hearer in mental contact with the precise person referred to.

Secondly, there are also a few examples in which *same* is added to the earlier emphasizer *ilca*. Interestingly, in all these examples *ilca* has coalesced into a single determiner unit with the definite article as illustrated in (10.19).

- (10.19) Over the whiche degrees ther ben noumbres of augrym that dividen **thilke same degrees** fro 5 to 5, as shewith by longe strikes bitwene. (HC 1350–1420)

‘Over the which degrees there have been numbers of algorism that divided **those same degrees** from 5 to 5, as shown by long strikes between.’

On the whole, the discourse value of *the same* in this period appears to be equivalent to ‘the aforesaid’, which is one of the paraphrases given in the OED (Vol. 9: 74) (see Section 7.3.1). This value becomes especially apparent in examples such as (10.20) in which *the same* appears to alternate with *the said*.

- (10.20) And among opir pinges declared vnto vs þei haue desired to knowe how it standeth bitwix vs and þe princes of Duchelond and in what wise þei gouerne hem towardses vs and in especial how Duc Iohan of Baire sumtyme Elit of Lieges gouerneþ him anenst vs for as þei sey þereafter wol oure broþir of Baire gouerne him to **þe same Iohan** And for as muche as ye knowe better þanne we doo how **þe said Duc Iohan** gouerneþ him towardses vs and oure Rewme of Englande and oure suggettes. (HC 1350–1420)

‘And among other things declared to us that they have desired to know how things stand between us and the princes of Duchelond and in which way they behave themselves towards us and especially how Duc Iohan of Baire at one time the Elect of the Liege-men behaves himself against us for as they say afterwards our brother of Baire will behave himself to **the same Iohan** And for as much as you know better than we do how **the said Duc Iohan** behaves himself towards us and our Kingdom of England and our subjects.’

A second related use, which is in the 1250–1500 data only present in a few attestations, but which becomes very frequent in the next period, 1500–1710, is illustrated in examples (10.21–10.23).

- (10.21) And at the last, to her spak Oure Lord Ihesu Crist and seyde,
 “Sey euery day be an hooll yeer xv Paternoster and xv Aue Maria, and at the yeeris ende thow shalt han wurchede euery wounde and fulfilled the noumbre of **the same**.” (HC 1420–1500)

‘And at the last, to her spoke Our Lord Jesus Christ and said,
 “Say every day for a whole year XV Paternosters and XV Ave Marias, and at the end of the year you shall have worshipped every wound and fulfilled **their** number.”’

- (10.22) This Jaff was Sumtyme a grett Citee, as it appereth by the Ruyne of **the same**, but nowe ther standeth never an howse but oonly ij towers, And Certeyne Caves vnder the grounde.
 (HC 1500–1570)

- (10.23) There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Iewes: **The same** came to Iesus by night, and said vnto him, Rabbi, wee know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can doe these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him. (HC 1570–1640)

In these examples, *the same* is as a unit used as a sort of personal pronoun signalling anaphoric relations of identity within the text, equivalent to the endophoric uses of *it*, *them*, and to a lesser extent *he* (see OED Vol. 9: 74). In the CLMET data this use is no longer found. With the exception of this personal pronoun use, the specific constructional patterns discussed so far are typical of the 1250–1500 data and are no longer present in the data after 1500.

In addition to these changes, the comparison of the data of the three periods 1250–1500, 1500–1710 and 1710–1920 (i.e. the CLMET data) reveals two tendencies that indicate the increasing phoric value attached to *the same* and, correspondingly, its diminishing emphaser value. The first one is the quantitative increase of cataphoric postdeterminer data, going from 4 out of 100 in the 1250–1500 data, over 14 out of 100 in 1500–1710, to 32 out of 100 in the CLMET data for 1710–1780. Even though all data are ‘minimally phoric’ in the sense that there are no data in which the NP containing *same* cannot be linked co-referentially with an antecedent instance, this marked rise of the cataphoric construction seems to imply an overall increase in primarily phoric uses of *the same*. Secondly, the three data sets also contain a growing number of examples in which *same* occurs in combination with another emphasizing element, such as the adjective *very*, e.g. (10.24), or in which it is preceded by a demonstrative instead of the definite article, as in (10.25).

- (10.24) But in the present case neither of the passions could ever become superior; because supposing it to be the view only of ourself, which excited them, that being perfectly indifferent to either, must produce both in **the very same proportion**; or in other words, can produce neither. (CLMET 1710–1780)
- (10.25) To continue: the next entries on the sherd, if I may except a long splash either of blood or red colouring matter of some sort, consist of two crosses drawn in red pigment, and probably representing Crusaders’ swords, and a rather neat monogram (“D.V.”) in scarlet and blue, perhaps executed by **that same Dorothea Vincey who wrote, or rather painted, the doggrel couplet**. (CLMET 1850–1920)

At first sight, the increase of these combined emphatic data might seem to contradict the hypothesis that the emphaser use disappears in favour of the postdeterminer use. However, the fact that *same* is often supplemented by other emphatic markers can be considered as an indication of the diminishing strength of *same* itself as emphaser.

In the previous paragraphs I have discussed several observations lending support to the grammaticalization hypothesis formulated in Chapter 7 that the postdeterminer uses of *same* developed through a process of secondary grammaticalization from its original use as emphaser of the definite article. In the next paragraphs, I will comment on the relative chronology of the different types of postdeterminer uses.

The examples that have been given so far all illustrate the phoric postdeterminer use of *same*. In fact, the data suggest that this postdeterminer use predates the non-phoric one, which expresses that one and the same instance is associated with distinct situations. The first data in which *same* is found in an internal construction date from 1500–1710. Yet, it has to be remarked that there are only two such examples in this data set, one of which is reproduced here as (10.26).

- (10.26) Now, if you were a man that had any learning, you should see, that contraries cannot be in **the same subject**, at one instant, in the same part, and in the same respect: how then can a man hate the deuill, defie the deuill and his workes, and yet follow him at one time? (HC 1570–1640)

It is only in the 1710–1780 data, that we find a considerable number of non-phoric postdeterminer uses of *same*. From then on, this postdeterminer use accounts for a substantial part of the data, 17 out of 100 data for the period 1710–1780, 18 out of 100 for 1780–1850, 13 out of 100 for 1850–1920. This relative ordering of phoric and non-phoric postdeterminer uses of *same* is confirmed in the OED (Vol. 9: 74–76), which contains early examples of phoric postdeterminer use of *the same* only. The first internal example dates from 1551. However, the MED (Vol. 18: 66–67), quotes a few older examples in which *the same* expresses non-phoric referential identity. The earliest one, reproduced here as (10.27), dates from 1384.

- (10.27) (c1384) WBible(1) 1 Cor.12.11: Alle thes thingis **oon and the same spirit** worchith. (MED Vol. 18: 66)
 ‘**One and the same spirit** did all these things.’

But even when these examples are taken into consideration, they are still considerably later than the earliest examples of phoric use cited in the OED (Vol. 9: 4), which date back to 1200.

From 1710 on, the samples also contain a large number of data in which *same* is part of the complex construction *at the same time*. As discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.9.1), *at the same time* functions as one complex linguistic unit, which means that *same* loses its distinct semantics as a postdeterminer to the general meaning of the construction as a conjunctive item. The share of this complex construction increases slightly in the data, going from 7 out of 100 examples for the period 1710–1780, to 9 out of 100 for 1780–1850 and 1850–1920 and 40 out of 400 for the COBUILD data. It was also pointed out in Chapter 7 (Section 7.9.1) that König (1985, 1988, 1991) and Traugott and König (1991) include *at the*

same time in their discussion of elements developing from expressing simultaneity to expressing concession. These two types of meaning are present in the diachronic data. In each of the three periods in the CLMET data, 1710–1780, 1780–1850 and 1850–1920, we find examples of *at the same time* in its original temporal conjunctive meaning, e.g. (10–28), that of coordinating equivalent to *and*, *also*, e.g. (10.29), and that of concessive conjunction like *but*, *however*, e.g. (10.30).

- (10.28) If only I could in any way manage to pin him against the wall till help came! Once more I dashed my hardest angle against him, **at the same time** alarming the whole household by my cries for aid. (CLMET 1850–1920)
- (10.29) When my brother left us yesterday, he imagined that the business which took him to London might be concluded in three or four days; but as we are certain it cannot be so, and **at the same time** convinced that when Charles gets to town he will be in no hurry to leave it again, we have determined on following him thither, that he may not be obliged to spend his vacant hours in a comfortless hotel. (CLMET 1780–1850)
- (10.30) “Mentioning to your Papa that I thought Miss Tox and myself might now go home (in which he quite agreed), I inquired if he had any objection to your accepting this invitation. He said, ‘No, Louisa, not the least!’” Florence raised her tearful eyes. “**At the same time**, if you would prefer staying here, Florence, to paying this visit at present, or to going home with me. . .” (CLMET 1780–1850)

In addition, the data for 1850–1920 contain the first examples of a second conjunctive adverbial construction with a concessive meaning, *all the same*. This confirms Traugott and König’s (1991: 203) claim that its development dates from the nineteenth century. As for *at the same time*, the data display the different stages in the acquisition of the concessive meaning. Example (10.31) illustrates the inference of contrast or surprise, which led to the development of a full adversative/concessive meaning of *all the same* similar to *yet* and *nonetheless*, as in (10.32).

- (10.31) Carrie and I deciding on whisky, I opened a fresh bottle; but Carrie said it smelt like brandy. As I knew it to be whisky, I said there was nothing to discuss. Carrie, evidently vexed that Lupin had not come in, did discuss it **all the same**, and wanted me to have a small wager with her to decide by the smell. (CB)

- (10.32) “My dear wife,” he exclaimed, in despair at the threatened calamity, “you are right, a thousand times, but it’s impossible for you to be on ill terms with Jasper. There’s no need for you to see much of Mrs Reardon.” “I hate her! She killed her husband; I am sure of it.” “My darling!” “I mean by her base conduct. She is a cold, cruel, unprincipled creature! Jasper makes himself more than ever contemptible by marrying her.” **All the same**, in less than three weeks Mrs Whelpdale had called upon Amy, and the call was returned. (CLMET 1850–1920)

A second type of use which occurs from 1710 onwards, is the occurrence of *the same* as predicate in combination with a copular verb, e.g. in the combination *to remain the same* in (10.33) (see Chapter 7, Section 7.9.2).

- (10.33) If the existing areas **are to remain the same**, then, on the whole, my vote is against municipal trading, and on the whole, with regard to light, to tramways and communications, to telephones, and indeed to nearly all such public services, I would prefer to see these things in the hands of companies, and I would stipulate only for the maximum publicity for their accounts and the fullest provision for detailed regulation through the Board of Trade. (CLMET 1780–1850)

This predicative use of *the same* is found in 4 out of 100 examples of the 1710–1780 data, 2 out of 100 for the 1780–1850 data, 4 out of 100 for the 1850–1920 data, and 10 out of 400 for the COBUILD data.

On the whole it can be concluded that a close semantic and contextual analysis of the historical data for *same* backs up the grammaticalization path from *emphasizer* to *postdeterminer* use proposed in Chapter 7. In addition, the data suggest a relative ordering of the occurrence of *postdeterminer same* in *phoric* and *non-phoric* contexts: in the earliest Helsinki data, *same* always sets up *phoric* relations of identity.

10.3.2. *Identical*

The picture presented by the historical distribution of the different uses of *identical* is much more complex. The figures in Table 10.4 show a decrease in *postdeterminer* uses over the different periods. This general observation seems to challenge the grammaticalization hypothesis formulated in Chapter 7.

However, the specific evolution that can be tracked in the data and that is consistent with the description of the adjectives in the OED (Vol. 5: 18) is that *identical*, like *same*, was introduced into English as an *emphasizer*.

Table 10.4. Historical distribution of the different uses of *identical*

	750– 1050	1050– 1250	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %					2 8.5	13 39.5	38 52	149 37.25
prenominal %					21 91.5	17 51.5	30 41	236 59
attribute %					5 22	2 6	12 16.5	99 24.75
lexical classifier %								60 15
postdeterminer %					16 69.5	15 45.5	18 24.5	58 14.5
quantifier								
phoric classifier %								8 2
attribute- postdeterminer %								11 2.75
postdeterminer- quantifier								
postnominal %						3 9	5 7	15 3.75
attribute %						3 9	5 7	13 3.25
postdeterminer %								2 0.5
total %	0	0	0	0	23 100	33 100	73 100	400 100

According to the OED (Vol. 5: 18), the adjective *identical* was recruited in the seventeenth century from French and/or Latin in the forms *identical* and *identic*, the latter of which went out of use. On its entry in English, the adjective was used as an emphatic marker for the relation of identity, similar to *same* in the thirteenth century. This emphazier meaning is the first meaning quoted in the OED where it is illustrated by amongst others example (10.34), in which *identic* is added to the definite article to further emphasize the relation of identity.

- (10.34) **1664** BUTLER *Hud.* II. i. 149 The Beard's **th' Identick Beard** you knew. (OED Vol. 5: 18)

The postdeterminer use signalling referential identity naturally developed from this emphasizer use in contexts that do not have a strong contrastive element. As for *same*, it seems to have been the case that the emphasizing adjective *identical* diminishes in strength and simply retains the function of signalling identity rather than strongly affirming it. In examples such as (10.35) and (10.35), *identical* seems to have lost some of its emphasizing strength and hence functions as a postdeterminer marking phoric (e.g. 10.35) or non-phoric identity e.g. (10.36).

- (10.35) **1774** C.J. PHIPPS *Voy. N. Pole* 13 To lend me **the identical pendulum with which Mr. Graham had made his experiments**. (OED Vol. 5: 18)

- (10.36) **1633** AUSTIN *Medit.* (1635) 36 The Spirit ... leades not every man in **the same identicall path**. (OED Vol. 5: 18)

Different from *same*, however, the emphasizer use was not the only construction in which *identical* is used in the English language. The OED (Vol. 5: 18) further registers two different meanings for *identical* in attributive and predicative position. The first one is the gradable likeness meaning. The first clear example of this meaning cited in the OED dates from 1860, e.g. (10.37).

- (10.37) **1860** WESTCOTT *Introd. Study Gosp.* iii. (ed. 5) 191 The incidents ... are often **identical** and always similar. (OED Vol. 5: 18)

The second lexical meaning is older and in fact stems from the same period as the emphasizer use, the early seventeenth century. This meaning comprises examples that express a logical relation of identity. In (10.38), for example, which is the first example of this kind cited in the OED, *identical axioms* means "axioms expressing relations of identity" (OED Vol. 5: 18).

- (10.38) **1620** GRANGER *Div. Logike* II. 230 *Man is man*, viz. Subject to errors. *Note. Identicall Axiomes*. (OED Vol. 5: 18)

In sum, the lemma description of *identical* in the OED suggest the following development: *identical* entered the English language in the early seventeenth century in two specific uses, an emphasizer use that quickly evolved into a postdeterminer use, and a lexical use in logico-philosophical

contexts. The lexical meaning expressing full similarity that is part of the continuum of gradable likeness is first attested in the nineteenth century.⁶

As displayed in Table 10.4, the earliest attestations of *identical* in the corpus material date from the period 1710–1780 and consist of grammatical (postdeterminer/emphasizer) as well as lexical attribute and predicative uses of *identical*. As indicated above the proportion grammatical versus lexical uses in the CLMET data does not follow the hypothesized evolution. In the period 1710–1780, *identical* is mainly used (16 out of 23 instances) as a grammatical marker of identity, while in the next period (1780–1850) it is much more often used as a predicate (16 out of a total of 33 examples as opposed to 2 out of 23 in the period 1710–1780). The data from 1850–1920 then show an increase in the number of attribute uses of *identical* (12 out of 73 data as opposed to 2 out of 33 data for the preceding period). The lexical use of *identical*, has now become the most attested use in the corpus material. As indicated in Table 10.4, it accounts for 55 out of a total of 73 instantiations of *identical* or 75.5% of the data. The postdeterminer use of *identical* becomes numerically less important and covers only 24.5% of the data. A closer semantic analysis of the data, combined with the information provided by the OED (Vol. 5: 18), however, allows us to explain these unexpected figures.

With regard to the grammatical uses, the data from 1710 to 1920 confirm the gradual transition from emphasizer to postdeterminer suggested above. The grammatical data from 1710–1780 are mainly clear emphaser examples. In 7 out of a total of 16 data, *identical* is added to another emphasizing element, either an adjective such as *same* or *very* or a demonstrative determiner, e.g. (10.39).

6. There are two older examples analyzed as expressing full gradable likeness in the OED (Vol. 5: 18), (i) and (ii), but, in my opinion, they express logical identity rather than gradable likeness.

- (i) 1677 HALE *Prim. Orig. Man.* I. Iv. 105 When we have to do with any thing whose very essence . . . consists in being greatest, there *majus* and *minus* do alter the very essence of the thing, and is **identical** with *magis* and *minus*.
- (ii) 1831 LAMB *Elia* Ser. II. *Ellistoniana*, 'I like Wrench' . . . 'because he is the same natural, easy creature, on the stage that he is of.' 'My case exactly', retorted Elliston . . . 'I am the same person of the stage that I am on'. The inference, at first sight, seems **identical**; but examine it a little, and it confesses only, that the one performer was never, and the other always, acting.

- (10.39) Susan, from the account she had received of Mrs Waters, made not the least doubt but that she was **the very identical stray whom the right owner pursued**. (CLMET 1710–1780)
- (10.40) This explanation, however, was more ingenious than candid, for the admirer was no other than **the identical Mr. Pickle himself**. (CLMET 1710–1780)

In (10.40), the emphasizing meaning of *identical* is again augmented by the combination with the reflexive element *himself*. In the data from 1780–1850, the portion of grammatical examples in which there is this kind of double marker of the emphasizing relation is the same as for the first period, 7 out of 16 data. In the third period from the CLMET data, 1850–1920, by contrast, it has decreased to 3 out of 17 examples.

A further, related observation pertains to the proportion of examples with cataphoric and anaphoric reference. In the periods 1710–1780 and 1780–1850, the typical pattern of grammatical *identical* is realizing emphatic cataphoric reference in combination with another emphasizing element, as in (10.39) *the very identical stray whom the right owner pursued*. The proportion cataphoric versus anaphoric examples is 7 versus 9 for the sample 1710–1780 and 10 versus 6 for the sample 1780–1850. In the third period, 1850–1920, in contrast, the proportion has changed to 4 cataphoric versus 9 anaphoric examples and neither of the cataphoric examples contains an additional emphasizing element. The *identical* hence seems to broaden its range of phoric uses in the CLMET data.

In addition, the data from 1850–1920 also contain certain new post-determiner uses of *identical* in new contexts. Similar to *same*, the post-determiner use of *identical* in examples with internal comparison, such as (10.41), becomes more frequent (4 of the 18 postdeterminer examples).

- (10.41) Thus, this animistic belief in samsara *in sense allegorico* claims that **the identical vijnana** as a subject of samsara can be literally reincarnated as different lives – the heavenly, the human, the animal, the ghostly and the purgatorial – one after the other, without cease, all during its lives of pre-nirvana. (CB)
- (10.42) It is clear that in employing vernacular languages for translation, missionaries saw these languages as more than arbitrary devices. On the contrary, they saw them as endowed with divine significance, so that they may substitute completely for the language of revelation. The fact that all languages are, for the purposes of Christian translation, interchangeable, makes them “instrumental”, so that in their very differences they all serve **an identical purpose**. (CB)

However, in contrast to *same*, this postdeterminer use is from this period on no longer limited to the combination *the identical*, but also manifests itself in the indefinite determiner unit *(an) identical*, as illustrated in (10.42). The indefinite construction, found in 2 of the 4 examples, is a new context in which *identical* allows for grammatical semantics. In fact, this new grammatical reading of *identical* in indefinite NPs is not restricted to constructions with internal comparison, but also becomes available in NPs with external comparison, generating phoric uses expressing generalized reference as in (10.43).

- (10.43) How can we heartily obey one who is but a foreigner with the accident of **an identical language**? (CLMET 1850–1920)

In the synchronic data, the indefinite determiner unit *(an) identical* becomes the main determiner-postdeterminer combination accounting for 7 out of 9 non-phoric postdeterminer uses and 11 out of 13 phoric postdeterminer uses, while the original, definite phoric combination *the identical* is by and large restricted to its core use in cataphoric NPs with a restrictive relative clause conveying the second element of the comparison, as in (10.44).

- (10.44) Ironically, One Man's fatal fall came at **the identical fence which caused the retirement of another great grey, Desert Orchid**. (CB)

These observations about the postdeterminer use of *identical* appear to confirm the analysis that the grammatical uses of *identical* gradually shed their emphatic meaning and solely come to express phoric and non-phoric relations of identity. At first they do so in the same combination that characterized their emphatic use, the combination with a definite primary determiner. From 1850 onwards, however, the expression of referential identity is also found in the now most common context of indefinite identification.

The other grammatical use of *identical*, its phoric classifier use, illustrated in (10.45), is an innovation in the COBUILD data.

- (10.45) Joan Beaumont died within seven minutes of husband Colin last year as he had a heart attack driving to her hospital. Medics took Colin, 74, to the Kent and Canterbury Hospital where his wife of 50 years was being treated for angina. Joan had **an identical seizure** yards away. (CB)

The lateness of these classifier examples lends support to the hypothesis that they are a later extension of the postdeterminer uses.

For the analysis of the lexical predicative, pronominal attribute and postnominal attribute examples, two factors need to be taken into account in order to arrive at a description of the possible development of *identical*. On the one hand, the two different lexical meanings distinguished in the OED (Vol. 5: 18), i.e. full gradable likeness and logical identity, have to be separated in the data as well. On the other hand, the figures presented in Table 10.4 have to be interpreted in the light of distribution of the examples in terms of their sources. In contrast to the grammatical data, which came from a great range of sources, the lexical examples are in fact limited to a very restricted number of literary works.

The lexical data for the period 1710–1780, for example, are all seven extracted from the same source: an excerpt from David Hume’s *A Treatise of Human Nature*. More specifically, the examples consist of two predicative examples and five pronominal attribute examples in which *identical* designates logical identity, e.g. (10.46) and (10.47) respectively.

- (10.46) Were we fully convinced, that our resembling perceptions are continued, and **identical**, and independent, we should never run into this opinion of a double existence, since we should find satisfaction in our first supposition, and would not look beyond.
(CLMET 1710–1780)
- (10.47) We may observe, that there are two relations, and both of them resemblances, which contribute to our mistaking the succession of our interrupted perceptions for **an identical object**.
(CLMET 1710–1780)

In the data from the second sample, 1780–1850, a similar situation can be observed. Out of a total of 18 lexical examples, 14 originate from Charles Darwin’s *The Voyage of the Beagle*, 2 are taken from Thomas Carlyle’s *The French Revolution*, and *A Journey in Other Worlds* by John Jacob Astor and *Liber Amoris* by William Hazlitt each provided one example. The examples from the latter three authors are all predicative examples in which *identical* conveys logical identity, e.g. (10.48).

- (10.48) A person who does not deliberately dispose of all his thoughts alike in cumbrous draperies and flimsy disguises may strike out twenty varieties of familiar everyday language, each coming somewhat nearer to the feeling he wants to convey, and at last not hit upon that particular and only one which may be said to be **identical** with the exact impression in his mind.
(CLMET 1780–1850)

It has to be noted that although *identical* in this example has the meaning of ‘identity’, which is reinforced by the use of *exact* in the description of the second element of the comparison, it is closer to the gradable likeness meaning than the predicative examples from the previous period.

In the main group of examples, those taken from Darwin, there are besides examples in which *identical* conveys the older meaning of logical identity, e.g. (10.49), also examples in which the adjective has to be interpreted as signalling full likeness rather than identity, e.g. (10.50) and (10.51).

- (10.49) There is one small lizard belonging to a South American genus, and two species (and probably more) of the *Amblyrhynchus* – a genus confined to the Galapagos Islands. There is one snake which is numerous; it is **identical**, as I am informed by M. Bibron, with the *Psammophis Temminckii* from Chile. (1780–1850)
- (10.50) I was much interested by finding on the terrace, at the height of eighty-five feet, *_embedded_* amidst the shells and much sea-drifted rubbish, some bits of cotton thread, plaited rush, and the head of a stalk of Indian corn: I compared these relics with similar ones taken out of the Huacas, or old Peruvian tombs, and found them **identical** in appearance. (CLMET 1780–1850)
- (10.51) These islands, situated in the same latitude with Tierra del Fuego and only between two and three hundred miles distant from it, having a nearly similar climate, with **a geological formation almost identical**, with favourable situations and the same kind of peaty soil, yet can boast of few plants deserving even the title of bushes; whilst in Tierra del Fuego it is impossible to find an acre of land not covered by the densest forest. (CLMET 1780–1850)

In (10.50), for example, the addition of the specification *in appearance* makes it obvious that *identical* concerns shared features and hence likeness rather than logical identity. Similarly, in (10.51), the occurrence of the submodifier *almost* leaves open only one interpretation, that of gradable likeness. Formally, the data show Darwin employs *identical* in two different positions, as predicative adjective and as attribute in postnominal position. In both positions the two distinct lexical meanings are found.

The actual shift from logical identity to likeness semantics occurs in the period 1850–1920. In addition to a general increase in lexical uses of *identical* in the data, the share of examples with a gradable likeness meaning also increases considerably from 7 out of 18 lexical examples in 1780–

1850 to 35 out of 55 in 1850–1920. This increase can also be observed from the increase in examples with further submodification. In the 1780–1850 sample, 2 of the 18 lexical examples contained an additional sub-modifying element. In the 1850–1920 data, that share has increased to 12 out of 55 examples.⁷

The numerical increase of the likeness semantics is connected with another factor, the emergence of the prenominal attribute use of *identical* in the data. As indicated in Table 10.4, the 1850–1920 sample contains 13 examples in which *identical* is used in this way. All the attribute examples convey the gradable likeness meaning, e.g. (10.52).

- (10.52) It was a curious coincidence that life had brought both my parents along similar paths to **an almost identical position in respect to religious belief**. (CLMET 1850–1920)

The distribution of the lexical uses over different sources in the sample offers yet another indication of the changing situation for the lexical use of *identical*. More specifically, it is clearly different for the two lexical meanings. The situation of the examples expressing logical identity is similar to that in the two earlier periods: the range of works from which the examples are obtained is very restricted (there are only five sources for 21 examples), and there is one source which accounts for the majority of these examples. In this case, Thomas Henry Huxley's *Discourses* provides 11 of the 21 examples. In general this work accounts for 23 of all 56 lexical examples and for all 5 examples in which *identical* is used as a post-nominal attribute. The examples conveying the gradable likeness meaning, by contrast, are distributed over a much wider range of texts. The 31 examples come from 13 different texts, the five texts that contain instances of the logical identity use and eight other ones. The changing distribution of the lexical examples over the source material as well as the obvious

7. It has to be noted that there is one example in the data in which *identical* expresses logical identity and is nonetheless accompanied by a submodifying adverb. However, as shown in example (i), the adverb in question is *really* which emphasizes the relation of identity rather than functioning as a degree modifier.

(i) And God the Spirit, the soul of the world, being therefore **really identical** with the soul of Bruno also, as the universe shapes itself to Bruno's reason, to his imagination, ever more and more articulately, he too becomes a sharer of the divine joy in that process of the formation of true ideas, which is really parallel to the process of creation, to the evolution of things. (CLMET 1850–1920)

numerical increase of the likeness meaning in the data suggests that the gradable likeness meaning is becoming the common lexical meaning of *identical*. This trend is confirmed by the synchronic corpus material, in which the likeness meaning is the main lexical meaning of the adjective (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1).

As the present discussion has shown, the analysis of the historical data of *identical* is complicated by several factors. But, on the whole, it can be concluded that the development of the adjective in fact consists of two separate developments, which confirms the suggested evolution in Chapter 7. Firstly, as was the case for *same*, the data support the hypothesis that *identical* evolved into a postdeterminer signalling phoric and non-phoric identity in definite NPs on the basis of its earlier grammatical use as an emphatic marker in the NP. Secondly, the lexical uses of *identical* display a development of their own. Lexical *identical* appears to be, as suggested in the description of the OED (Vol. 5: 18), at first restricted to the expression of logical identity. The lexical meaning of full (gradable) likeness is not found until later.⁸ Regarding the postdeterminer use of *identical* in indefinite NPs, the data confirm that it is established at a later date than that in definite NPs. But, as the full development of the lexical attribute use expressing likeness and the occurrence of the postdeterminer use in indefinite NPs date from the same period (1850–1920), no definite claims can be made about their relation.

10.4. Adjectives of similarity: *similar* and *comparable*

As Tables 10.5 and 10.6 show, the most noticeable difference between the adjectives of similarity and those of difference and identity discussed in Sections 10.3 and 10.4 is that their grammatical uses start to occur at a later date. For *comparable*, the postdeterminer use only occurs in Present-

8. Even though the diachrony of the data seems to suggest that the likeness semantics developed from the logical identity semantics, the basis for this claim is relatively restricted. It could also be the case that the likeness meaning constitutes a separate case of borrowing from the Romance languages. In that case, three different meanings, the emphatic meaning, the logical identity meaning, and the likeness meaning, are borrowed separately from French and/or Latin. Either way, the actual evolution will have to be investigated further on the basis of especially French material to check which scenario is the most likely from the perspective of the existing uses of French *identique* as the item being borrowed.

Table 10.5. Historical distribution of the different uses of *similar*

	750– 1050	1050– 1250	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %					25 <i>22.5</i>	38 <i>19</i>	39 <i>19.5</i>	77 <i>19.25</i>
prenominal %					74 <i>67.5</i>	147 <i>73.5</i>	145 <i>72.5</i>	287 <i>71.75</i>
attribute %					55 <i>50</i>	99 <i>49.5</i>	106 <i>53</i>	121 <i>30.25</i>
postdeterminer %					7 <i>6.5</i>	17 <i>8.5</i>	17 <i>8.5</i>	123 <i>30.75</i>
quantifier								
phoric classifier %						1 <i>0.5</i>		21 <i>5.25</i>
attribute- postdeterminer %					12 <i>11</i>	30 <i>15</i>	22 <i>11</i>	22 <i>5.5</i>
postdeterminer- quantifier								
postnominal %					11 <i>10</i>	15 <i>7.5</i>	16 <i>8</i>	36 <i>9</i>
attribute %					10 <i>9</i>	14 <i>7</i>	16 <i>8</i>	32 <i>8</i>
postdeterminer %					1 <i>1</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>		4 <i>1</i>
total %	0	0	0	0	110 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	400 <i>100</i>

day English and for *similar*, it is in the same period that we see a great increase in postdeterminer examples. This could be taken as evidence for the hypothesis that the (semantically more complex) grammaticalization of the adjectives of similarity started later than that of the adjectives of difference and identity and that their grammatical uses were modelled after the grammaticalized uses in the two other subfields. A second element suggesting a more recent grammaticalization process is the comparatively large number of bridging contexts found in the Present-day English data. From the figures presented here, the following possible historical development of the semantics of *similar* and *comparable* seems to emerge. During the period 1710–1920, *similar* displays a slow increase in postdeterminer

Table 10.6. Historical distribution of the different uses of *comparable*

	750– 1050	1050– 1250	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %				1 <i>100</i>	4 <i>80</i>	13 <i>76.5</i>	9 <i>50</i>	120 <i>33</i>
prenominal %							1 <i>5.5</i>	188 <i>51.5</i>
attribute %							1 <i>5.5</i>	80 <i>22</i>
postdeterminer %								76 <i>20.75</i>
quantifier								
phoric classifier %								12 <i>3.25</i>
attribute- postdeterminer %								20 <i>5.5</i>
postdeterminer- quantifier								
postnominal %					1 <i>20</i>	4 <i>23.5</i>	8 <i>44.5</i>	57 <i>15.5</i>
attribute %					1 <i>20</i>	4 <i>23.5</i>	8 <i>44.5</i>	46 <i>12.5</i>
postdeterminer %								11 <i>3</i>
total %	0	0	0	1 <i>100</i>	5 <i>100</i>	17 <i>100</i>	18 <i>100</i>	365 <i>100</i>

uses, going from 8 out of a total of 110 available data for 1710–1780 to respectively 18 and 17 out of 200 for the periods 1780–1850 and 1850–1920. It has to be remarked, however, that the data give no evidence for a stage at which *similar* could be used only as a lexical qualitative adjective.

With regard to the data for *comparable*, by contrast, the only examples available up until 1920 are lexical uses, consisting for the period 1500–1850 solely of predicative and postnominal attribute uses, such as (10.53) and (10.54). The subcorpus 1850–1920 contains the first attestation of *comparable* in a NP in the lexical function of attribute. This example is reproduced here as (10.55).

- (10.53) So this Citie had it beene built but one mile lower on the Sea side, I doubt not but it had long before this beene **comparable** to many a one of our greatest Townes and Cities in Europe, both for spaciousnesse of bounds, Port, state, and riches.
(HC 1570–1640)
- (10.54) I recommend theatrical representations to you; which are excellent at Paris. The tragedies of Corneille and Racine, and the comedies of Moliere, well attended to, are admirable lessons, both for the heart and the head. There is not, nor ever was, **any theatre comparable to the French**. (CLMET 1710–1780)
- (10.55) But now the real power is not in the Sovereign, it is in the Prime Minister and in the Cabinet – that is, in the hands of a committee appointed by Parliament, and of the chairman of that committee. Now, beforehand, no one would have ventured to suggest that a committee of Parliament on foreign relations should be able to commit the country to the greatest international obligations without consulting either Parliament or the country. No other select committee has **any comparable power**. . .
(CLMET 1850–1920)

The current English data contain the first grammatical, both post-determiner and phoric classifier, uses of *comparable*, illustrated by (10.56) and (10.57) respectively, and a considerably larger amount of post-determiner examples for *similar* (118 out of a total of 400 examples as opposed to 17 out of 200 for the period 1850–1920).

- (10.56) The climax was 72 hours of non-stop talks, with Mr Blair tackling problems that threatened to kill the deal right up to the last moment. The talks overshot their Thursday midnight deadline by more than 17 hours. But at 5.36pm yesterday, exhausted politicians – many of them sworn enemies – announced that agreement had been reached. [. . .] Senator Mitchell said of Mr Blair and Mr Ahern: “I cannot think of **a comparable instance** when two leaders participated in a round-the-clock, hands-on basis for several days as they did.” (CB)
- (10.57) While pirates and **comparable free-lance operators** on land were active in the capture of people for enslavement, the actual trading of slaves in the marketplace was often done by merchant peoples who treated slaves as simply an additional form of merchandise. (CB)

The phoric classifier use of *similar* also seems to fully develop as late as Present-day English, as only one example was attested in the historical data (in the period 1850–1920). This seems to suggest that the development of the classifier use is indeed, as was hypothesized by Breban and Davidse (2003: 312), a later development than the postdeterminer use (see also Chapter 4).

Regarding the different types of postdeterminer uses, the data for *similar* clearly show that its phoric uses, comprising both those that introduce new instances of a known type (like *(an)other*) and those that draw a generalization from a phorically retrieved antecedent (like *the same*), predate the non-phoric ones. In general, only very few instances of postdeterminer uses establishing internal comparison, i.e. expressing that the same generalized instance is associated with different circumstances, are found in the corpus material; only a few Present-day English examples for *comparable*, one of which is reproduced as (10.58) and a small number of examples for *similar* (two examples for the period 1850–1920 and only a few for the Present-day English data), e.g. (10.59).

- (10.58) Another problem is that not all IVF clinics have **comparable results**: in fact, some have never had a successful pregnancy resulting in a live birth. (CB)
- (10.59) The dinner was thus a series of emotional crises for the diners, who knew that full dishes and clean plates came endlessly through the same door. They were all eating **similar food** simultaneously; they began together and they finished together. (CLMET 1850–1920)

Example (10.59), which is the earliest postdeterminer use of *similar* in internal comparison context in the data, is found in the subcorpus 1850–1920. This observation, taken together with the restricted number of instances, seems to suggest that the non-phoric postdeterminer use develops later than the phoric counterparts. A similar temporal order could be deduced on the basis of the diachronic data for *same* and *identical* (see Sections 10.4.1 and 10.4.2).

In summary, the diachronic data for adjectives of similarity *similar* and *comparable* seem to confirm the grammaticalization analysis: the data for *comparable* include a first stage with lexical uses only and those for *similar* manifest a clear increase of postdeterminer uses. In addition, they prove to be important for establishing the relative order of several changes. Firstly, the data confirm that the grammaticalized classifier uses are a later devel-

opment than the corresponding postdeterminer uses. Secondly, they also show that the phoric postdeterminer use signalling identity is older than the corresponding non-phoric postdeterminer use.

10.5. Conclusion

The general grammaticalization hypothesis proposing a development from lexical attribute to grammaticalized uses of adjectives of comparison receives direct support for two of the adjectives, for *other* and *comparable*. The data for *other* show the loss of the lexical uses of the adjective, while those of *comparable* confirm that the adjective went through a stage with lexical uses only. For the other adjectives no similar directly apparent support is offered by the data. *Same* has grammatical uses only throughout the different data sets, and for *identical*, *similar* and *different*, there is no stage in which the adjectives have either a lexical use or a grammatical use only in the data. It was noted that for the last adjective, *different*, the older examples from OED and MED, seem to imply an earlier stage with lexical uses only. The data for *similar*, in addition, display a clear increase of postdeterminer uses; the data can hence be argued to show not the actuation of the grammaticalization process (when and where it starts), but its significant spread, i.e. the actualization, and in this way lend support to my grammaticalization claim.

With regard to the chronology of the hypothesized grammaticalization processes of the different adjectives, this historical data analysis reveals that *same* and *other* have much older grammatical uses than the other adjectives. As such, the data lend support to the idea that these two adjectives functioned as analogical models for the grammaticalization of the other adjectives. The adjectives of similarity display the latest first occurrence of grammatical uses. Again this dovetails with the analysis proposed in Chapter 8 that their grammaticalized uses are modelled on those of the adjectives of comparison that occupy the extremes of the scale of descriptive likeness, the adjectives of difference and identity.

Finally, the data also provide important information about the three hypothesized paths of grammaticalization and subjectification, (1) from emphaser to postdeterminer use for the adjectives of identity, and (2) from lexical attribute expressing unlikeness with a separately coded entity to phoric postdeterminer and (3) from attribute uses expressing unlikeness between different entities denoted by the same NP to individualizing postdeterminer and quantifier uses for the adjectives of difference.

Firstly, the diachronic data for *same* and *identical* confirm the grammaticalization path from emphazier to postdeterminer use in combination with the definite article. Moreover, they suggest that this change occurred first in NPs with a separate antecedent. In the data for *same*, *identical*, the phoric postdeterminer use is clearly older than its non-phoric counterpart. This relative ordering raises the question whether the development of the non-phoric postdeterminer use is an independent grammaticalization process taking place in NPs without antecedent, or whether it constitutes an extension of the phoric postdeterminer use. With respect to the development of the postdeterminer use of *identical* in combination with indefinite primary identification, the data do not provide a decisive answer either. The only conclusion that can be drawn in this respect is that the postdeterminer use in indefinite NPs does not predate the attribute use expressing full likeness in the same context and that the suggested hypothesis that it is the result of an independent grammaticalization process from this attribute use is not contested by the data. Finally, the data for *identical*, *similar* and *comparable* clearly date the phoric postdeterminer before the first phoric classifier uses, which fits in with my hypothesis that the latter constitute an analogical extension of the grammaticalized phoric postdeterminer use.

Secondly, the data for the adjectives of difference *other* and *different* back up the proposed path of grammaticalization from lexical attribute expressing unlikeness with a separately coded entity to phoric postdeterminer. The data for *other* display the final stages of this development consisting of the loss of the lexical unlikeness meaning. In addition, the data for *similar* and *comparable* seem to confirm that the phoric classifier use occurs later in time than the phoric postdeterminer use.

Thirdly, with regard to the grammaticalization path leading from attribute uses expressing unlikeness between different entities denoted by the same NP to individualizing postdeterminer uses and in a second development to quantifier uses, it can be concluded that the data for *different* confirm the second development from postdeterminer to quantifier use. However, the data pose problems for the first stage of this grammaticalization path. I will address those problems in the next chapter, in which I present a diachronic corpus study that is specifically concerned with this third path of grammaticalization.

11. Diachronic corpus study of six adjectives of difference

11.1. Introduction and description of the data base

This chapter focuses specifically on one of the paths of grammaticalization suggested for the adjectives of difference, that from lexical attributes expressing unlikeness between the entities denoted by the NP to the grammatical individualizing postdeterminer and quantifier uses. It discusses the results of a historical corpus study similar to the one in the previous chapter for six adjectives of difference that occur predominantly in NPs with internal comparison: *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various*. As in the previous chapter, the aim of this diachronic corpus investigation is to determine to what extent the suggested path of grammaticalization is supported by actual historical data material.¹

The six adjectives of difference that I chose to analyze are *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various*. With respect to *divers(e)*, I included both spelling variants *divers* and *diverse*. The historical data for this investigation were compiled in the same way as those discussed in the previous chapter. They are historical data extracted from the Helsinki and the CLMET corpora. However, because none of the six adjectives figured in the older sections of the Helsinki corpus (750–1250), I took 1250 as the cut-off point. As a result, I collected five historical samples consisting of 100 examples (if so many examples were available) for each of the adjectives. The first two sets, covering the periods 1250–1500 and 1500–1710, were extracted from the Helsinki corpus, and the other three sets, covering the periods 1710–1780, 1780–1850, 1850–1920, were taken from the CLMET. By way of comparison, I added a synchronic set of 200 examples extracted from the COBUILD corpus for each of the six adjectives.²

Before turning to the actual analysis, I will briefly make some cautionary remarks concerning the quantitative findings that are presented here. I want to emphasize that, as was also the case for the diachronic study presented in Chapter 10, these findings are of course to a certain

1. A more elaborate discussion of this corpus study including a longer theoretical discussion has appeared as Breban (2008b).

2. These synchronic data were discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.6.

extent biased by the limitations of the data base in terms of the number of instances and their representativeness. As in Chapter 10, I will limit the quantitative discussion to the comparison of the relative frequencies of the different uses in the different periods.

The structure of this chapter is the following. Sections 11.2 to 11.4 summarize the findings of the analyses of the six adjectives. In Section 11.2, I focus on plural NPs. These are the most frequent contexts in which the individualizing postdeterminer use is found in contemporary English and the only contexts for the quantifier use (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6). However, as pointed out in Chapter 6 (Section 6.6.1.2), the individualizing postdeterminer use is not restricted to plural NPs; it also has a more marked variant in singular NPs. I will deal with this postdeterminer use in Section 11.3. In Section 11.4 I will investigate if all other five adjectives of difference also developed a phoric postdeterminer use as is the case for *different* (see Chapter 10, Section 10.2.2). In Section 11.5, I will bring together the findings of this corpus study and those of the investigation of *other* and *different* from the previous chapter and make a general assessment about the support they provide for the grammaticalization and subjectification hypotheses in the field of difference. Finally, in Section 11.6, I will show that the possible 'double' process of grammaticalization and subjectification from attribute (1) to postdeterminer (2) to quantifier allows us to test the leftward movement hypothesis put forward in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.

11.2. Adjectives of difference in plural NPs with internal comparison

In this section I will be concerned with the occurrences of the six adjectives in plural NPs. The discussions of the diachronic evolutions of the adjectives as they can be gathered from the corpus analyses are grouped together in terms of the degree of grammaticalization that the adjectives appear to have attained in current English as evidenced by the type of grammatical uses, only postdeterminer, postdeterminer and quantifier, only quantifier, as well as their relative number of grammatical versus lexical uses. Section 11.2.1 deals with the two adjectives that seem to have run the full course of grammaticalization, *several* and *sundry*. Because the use of *sundry* is mainly restricted to the idiomatic phrase *all and sundry* in the Present-day English data, the main discussion will focus on *several*. Section 11.2.2 discusses the development of *various*, *different*

and *distinct*, which show a lesser degree of grammaticalization. Finally, I will focus on *diverse/divers* in a separate section (Section 11.2.3) as their development is complicated by spelling issues.

11.2.1. *Several* and *sundry*

Within the set of six adjectives, two adjectives, *sundry* and *several*, appear to have grammaticalized completely. They are, as indicated in Tables 11.1 and 11.2, from respectively 1780 and 1850 onwards used only in the grammatical functions of postdeterminer and quantifier.

Table 11.1. Historical distribution of the different uses of *sundry*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %		1 2.1				
prenominal %	15 100	46 97.9	15 100	29 100	22 100	72 100
attribute %	3 20	3 6.4				
plural individualizing postdeterminer %	7 46.7	14 29.8	5 33.3	3 10.4	5 22.7	9 12.5
postdeterminer- quantifier %	1 6.7	10 21.3	4 26.7	7 24.1	7 31.8	6 8.3
quantifier %	2 13.3	17 36.2	5 33.3	19 65.5	10 45.5	55 76.4
singular individualizing postdeterminer %		1 2.1				2 2.8
phoric postdeterminer %	2 13.3	1 2.1				
attribute- postdeterminer %			1 6.7			
postnominal						
total %	15 100	47 100	15 100	29 100	22 100	72 100

Table 11.2. Historical distribution of the different uses of *several*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %		1 <i>1</i>				
prenominal %		99 <i>99</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>
attribute %		8 <i>8</i>	1 <i>1</i>			
plural individualizing postdeterminer %		40 <i>40</i>	32 <i>32</i>	9 <i>9</i>	7 <i>7</i>	10 <i>5</i>
postdeterminer-quantifier %		9 <i>9</i>	10 <i>10</i>	9 <i>9</i>	11 <i>11</i>	30 <i>15</i>
quantifier %		37 <i>37</i>	55 <i>55</i>	81 <i>81</i>	82 <i>82</i>	160 <i>80</i>
singular individualizing postdeterminer %		2 <i>2</i>				
phoric postdeterminer						
attribute-postdeterminer %		3 <i>3</i>	2 <i>2</i>	1 <i>1</i>		
postnominal						
total %	0	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>

In earlier periods however, *sundry* and *several* were used lexically, both as attributes in the NP and in predicative position, as illustrated by (11.1–11.2) and (11.3–11.4) respectively.

(11.1) **1614** W. B. *Philos. Banquet* (ed. 2) 113 **The sundriest kindes** of extremities. (OED vol. 10: 159)

(11.2) This Hieroglyphicall devise doth so affect Children (who are generally forward to communicate what they know) that I have observed them to teach others, that could not so readily learn, to know all the letters in a few houres space, by asking them, what stands A. for? and so concerning other letters backwards and forwards, or as they best liked. Thus when a childe hath got the

names of his letters, & **their several shapes** withall in a playing manner, he may be easily taught to distinguish them in the following leaf. (HC 1500–1710)

- (11.3) For Prouidence includith all, whither they be diuers or infinite, but Desteny deuideth euery thing according to her motion, distributing it to place, to forme, & tyme: that this deuiding of temporall order joyned to the diuine pleasure may be made Prouidence, But that joyning, being seuerd & deuided into tymes, that is Fate. Which tho they be **sondry**, yet they depend one of an other. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.4) [...] and clense with your hand both the lidde and inward sides of the churne, and hauing put all together, you shall couer the churne againe, and then with easie stroakes round, and not to the bottome, gather the butter together into one intire lumpe and body, leauing no peeces thereof **seuerall** or vnioyned. (HC 1500–1710)

These two adjectives also evidence the hypothesized secondary grammaticalization from postdeterminer, e.g. (11.5) and (11.6), to quantifier, e.g. (11.7) and (11.8). The quantifier use was available for both adjectives from the earliest data onwards. At first, it was proportionally less frequent than the postdeterminer use. But as the figures for *several* show, it further increased and has become predominant in the present day. As such they provide evidence for the actuation of this grammaticalization process.

- (11.5) This hous of Seynt Victour is in Paris, to whеч I trowe þei longe. We haue in our libraries **many sundry bookes** þat to chanones of þat hous mad; on of hem hite Hewe, þe oþir hite Richard, notabel clerkis þei wer and men of holy lyf. (HC 1250–1500)
- ‘This house of Saint Victor is in Paris, to which I am certain they belonged. We have in our libraries **many different books** that were made by clergymen of that house; one of them was called Hewe, the other was called Richard, excellent clerks they were and men of holy life.’
- (11.6) The Psalmist very elegantly expresseth to us **the several gradations** by which men at last come to this horrid degree of impiety; [...]
Men are usually first corrupted by bad counsel and company, which is called “walking in the counsel of the ungodly”; next they habituate themselves to their vicious practices, which is [...]
(HC 1500–1710)

- (11.7) And besides, it is very unlike, that I of all Men woulde confederate in such a matter against the Lieutenant of the “Tower”, whose Daughter my Brother hath married, and his House and mine alied together by Mariage **sundry times** within these few Yeres.
(HC 1500–1710)
- (11.8) Carps and Loaches are observed to Breed **several months** in one year, which Pikes and most other fish do not. And this is partly proved by tame and wild “Rabbets”, as also by some “Ducks”, which will lay eggs nine of the twelve months, and yet there be other “Ducks” that lay no longer than about one month.
(HC 1500–1710)

The adjective *several* not only displays the highest proportion of quantifier uses, it also shows the widest array of different quantifier uses. Similar to prototypical absolute quantifiers such as *many* and cardinal numbers, *several* can combine the following quantifier into a quantifier unit that has scope over the instantial set (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.2.2), as illustrated in (11.9). It has been used in this way from the earliest data onwards, but throughout the data this particular use has become more and more frequent. Moreover, it can be noted that in the earliest examples (1500–1780), the following quantifier had to be plural, but from 1780 onwards this quantifier is, as in the same combination with ordinary absolute quantifiers, singular rather than plural, as illustrated in (11.10).

- (11.9) In ye afternoone there came **severall hundreds** of his people: to ye meetinge where I was. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.10) We have provided accommodation now for **several thousand** of the most helplessly broken-down men in London, criminals many of them, mendicants, tramps, those who are among the filth and offscouring of all things; but such is the influence that is established by the meeting and the moral ascendancy of our officers themselves, that we have never had a fight on the premises, and very seldom do we ever hear an oath or an obscene word.
(CLMET 1850–1920)

The change of the number of the second quantifier suggests that the construction arose from a situation in which *several* had scope over the quantified set ‘hundreds of his people’ and expressed the multiplication of this set, i.e. ‘several times hundred of people’. The occurrence of a singular second quantifier typifies the current situation in which the second quantifier

is no longer part of the set that is multiplied, but part of the multiplying quantifier unit *several thousand*, i.e. ‘several thousand times an instance of the type ‘most helplessly broken-down men’’. This unit is formally equivalent to the established quantifiers *three thousand*, *five hundred*, etc. The occurrence of *several* in this construction pattern was argued to be an example of its paradigmaticization (Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2).

Secondly, from 1710 onwards, the corpus contains a few examples in which *several* is used in combination with definite identification. The examples in the CLMET data are all of one specific combination, *the next several N*, as illustrated by (11.11). In the COBUILD data there is no longer such a restriction, e.g. (11.12). However, the data combining *several* with definite identification are subject to a stylistic restriction. The distribution of the pattern in the COBUILD corpus reveals that the combination occurs predominantly in higher register, written texts.

- (11.11) It is interesting thus to find the once domesticated cattle breaking into three colours, of which some one colour would in all probability ultimately prevail over the others, if the herd were left undisturbed for **the next several centuries**.
(CLMET 1780–1850)

- (11.12) Of **the several hours before the accident** and all the many days since there would be no coherent memory, nothing but a dark void. (CB)

Finally, *several* has, similar to the other absolute quantifiers and *some*, not only a prototypical absolute use, but it can also be used as a relative quantifier in certain contexts (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6.2.2). From the oldest data onwards, *several* could express relative quantification when complemented by a genitive or an *of*-phrase specifying the full set of instances that *several* takes a portion of, e.g. (11.13).³ In the later data, there are also a small number of examples, such as (11.14), in which *several* seems to express relative quantification without the explicit lexicalization of the reference mass.

3. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 538–540), and Denison (2006: 292–296, 2010: 114) take the occurrence of relative uses of the form ‘quantifier + *of*-phrase’, which they call the “fused-head construction”, as a criterion for the quantifier status of an element (see also Chapter 6, Section 6.6.2, and Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2).

- (11.13) And this “Phaenomenon”, as I have elsewhere more largely shewn, proceeds from a propriety which belongs to all kinds of fluid Bodies more or less, and is caused by the Incongruity of the Ambient and included Fluid, which so acts and modulates each other, that they acquire, as neer as is possible, a “spherical” or “globular” form, which propriety and **several of the “Phaenomena”** that proceed from it, I have more fully explicated in the sixth Observation. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.14) [...] the torch-bearers moved quickly on. “We are nearing the sea,” said, in a calm voice, the person at their head. “Liberty and wealth to each slave who survives this day! Courage! I tell you that the gods themselves have assured me of deliverance. On!” Redly and steadily the torches flashed full on the eyes of Glaucus and Ione, who lay trembling and exhausted on his bosom. **Several slaves** were bearing, by the light, panniers and coffers, heavily laden [...]. (CLMET 1780–1850)

As suggested by amongst others Milsark (1977), it can be assumed that additional stress is placed on the quantifier in order to invoke this marked interpretation.⁴

Finally, it has to be noted that the quantitative picture presented in the data for *sundry* is less neat than that of *several*. This is due to the decrease in overall use of *sundry* which is gradually disappearing from the active vocabulary and is in Present-day English to a large extent (24 out of 72 examples) limited to the expression *all and sundry*. From a qualitative angle, the quantifier *sundry* is very similar in its different possibilities to *several*. Although it never occurred in definite NPs in the data, it was used in the restricted scope construction with a numeral and as relative quantifier in the construction *sundry of* in the older data. It can be assumed that, because of its decreasing use, these special uses are no longer found in the Modern and Present-day English data.

11.2.2. *Various, different and distinct*

In contrast to *several* and *sundry*, the adjectives *various*, *different* and *distinct* can still be used in their lexical sense as attribute and predicative

4. This remains however only an assumption as the corpus data do not contain information on stress.

Table 11.3. Historical distribution of the different uses of *various*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %			8 <i>8</i>	4 <i>4</i>	7 <i>7</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>
prenominal %		1 <i>100</i>	91 <i>91</i>	96 <i>96</i>	93 <i>93</i>	199 <i>99.5</i>
attribute %		1 <i>100</i>	20 <i>20</i>	13 <i>13</i>	11 <i>11</i>	4 <i>2</i>
plural individualizing postdeterminer %			45 <i>45</i>	42 <i>42</i>	54 <i>54</i>	108 <i>54</i>
postdeterminer-quantifier %			8 <i>8</i>	19 <i>19</i>	11 <i>11</i>	28 <i>14</i>
quantifier %			5 <i>5</i>	12 <i>12</i>	12 <i>12</i>	58 <i>29</i>
singular individualizing postdeterminer						
phoric postdeterminer %				2 <i>2</i>		
attribute-postdeterminer %			13 <i>13</i>	8 <i>8</i>	5 <i>5</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>
postnominal %			1 <i>1</i>			
attribute %			1 <i>1</i>			
postdeterminer						
total %	0	1 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	100 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>

adjective in Present-day English, in addition to their grammatical uses as individualizing postdeterminer and/or quantifier. I will start the discussion with *various*, and then move on to *different* and *distinct*.

As is clear from Table 11.3, the data for *various* show a gradual decrease of lexical uses in favour of grammatical uses. The only example of *various* in the Helsinki corpus is an attribute use dating from the period 1640–1710, reproduced as (11.15); but the CLMET data contain a considerable amount of grammatical, especially postdeterminer uses, throughout the different periods, e.g. (11.16).

- (11.15) My aim being to discover the old Art of teaching Schoole, and how it may be improved in every part suteable to the years and capacities of such children as are now commonly taught; I shall first begin my discourse concerning a petty-Schoole, & here or else where I shall not busie my self or Reader about what a childe of an extraordinary towardliness, and having a teacher at home, may attain unto, and in how short a space, but onely shew how a multitude of **various wits** may be taught all together with abundance of profit and delight to every one, which is the proper and main work of our ordinary Schooles. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.16) Claude Lorraine, on the contrary, was convinced that taking nature as he found it seldom produced beauty. His pictures are a composition of **the various draughts** which he has previously made from various beautiful scenes and prospects. (CLMET 1710–1780)

The postdeterminer uses increase a little over time to cover more than half of the instances of *various* for the period after 1850. It can be hypothesized that *various* filled the vacuum left by *several* and *sundry* which had shifted away from postdeterminer to quantifier function at the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.

Like *several* and *sundry*, *various* is also attested in the quantifier use, illustrated in (11.17). The first quantifier examples date from around 1700. The number of examples slowly increases in the CLMET data, but the quantifier use of *various* only really breaks through in the COBUILD data where it covers one third of the whole sample.

- (11.17) In men, we **various ruling passions** find; In women, two almost divide the kind: Those, only fixed they first or last obey – The love of pleasure, and the love of sway. (CLMET 1710–1780)

With *different* and *distinct*, the situation is less clear-cut. For both adjectives there is evidence that they started off with a stage with lexical uses only. For *distinct* this is apparent from the data as evinced by the figures in Table 11.5. For *different*, as discussed in the previous section, the first period in the Helsinki corpus for which data are available (1570–1640) contains one predicative example as well as one postdeterminer example. However, all the examples dating from before 1570 quoted in the OED (Vol. 3: 341) and the MED (Vol. 4: 1077) are lexical (both predicative and attribute) uses, which suggests that *different* did in fact go through a first phase with lexical uses only. The following examples

(11.18–11.21) illustrate the different early lexical uses of *distinct* and *different*.

- (11.18) The sayde Mayster Harry right shortely weywardly and angerly answered seyyng that the sayde Mayer and Citeseyns shold right noght have a do with the sayde Bysshoppis tenantis with yn the cite and suburb of the same, ne the sayde tenantis with the sayde Mayer and Citeseyns, but only be ceparat and **distyncte** away fro the sayde cite, [. . .] (HC 1250–1500)

‘The said Master Harry directly afterwards waywardly and angrily answered saying that the said Mayor and Citizens should not have anything to do with the tenants of the said Bishop within their city and suburb, nor the said tenants with the said Mayor and Citizens, but only be separate and **set apart** away from the said city, [. . .]’

- (11.19) So that Cork seems to suck its nourishment from the subjacent bark of the Tree immediately, and to be a kind of excrescence, or a **substance distinct from the substances of the entire Tree**, something analogous to the Mushrome, or Moss on other Trees, or to the hairs on Animals. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.20) Who when he lookes out of the glasse of his hye prouidence, knowith what for ech man is best. And that he knowes is best, that he gyues him. And this is the greate miracle of destenyenys order, when it is treated by a skylfull person, at which the ignorant woonder. And that I may somewhat touche what mans Reason may comprehend of Godes depth, in that mater that thou supposest to be most just, & keeps greatest equalitie, it seemes all be **different** from him that knowith what Prouidence is. (HC 1500–1710)

- (11.21) **1607** SHAKS. *Lear* IV. Iii. 37 Mate and mate could not beget **Such different issues**. (OED Vol. 3: 341)

The grammatical postdeterminer uses appear in a later stage, in the data from 1710 onwards for *distinct* and from 1500 onwards for *different*.

However, for *distinct* as well as *different*, the data for the later periods do not show a continuation of the grammaticalization pattern: the CLMET data show an increase in the relative frequency of lexical uses and a decrease in that of the postdeterminer uses. As such, they seem to

Table 11.4. Historical distribution of the different uses of *different*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %		4 <i>30.7</i>	29 <i>14.5</i>	45 <i>22.5</i>	60 <i>30</i>	92 <i>23</i>
prenominal %		8 <i>61.6</i>	159 <i>79.5</i>	149 <i>74.5</i>	128 <i>64</i>	298 <i>74.5</i>
attribute %		3 <i>23.1</i>	25 <i>12.5</i>	32 <i>16</i>	51 <i>25.5</i>	113 <i>28.25</i>
plural individualizing postdeterminer %		3 <i>23.1</i>	94 <i>47</i>	75 <i>37.5</i>	47 <i>23.5</i>	119 <i>29.75</i>
postdeterminer-quantifier %			3 <i>1.5</i>	4 <i>2</i>	2 <i>1</i>	3 <i>0.75</i>
quantifier %				2 <i>1</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	4 <i>1</i>
singular individualizing postdeterminer %		1 <i>7.7</i>	3 <i>1.5</i>	3 <i>1.5</i>	3 <i>1.5</i>	8 <i>2</i>
phoric postdeterminer %		1 <i>7.7</i>	18 <i>9</i>	16 <i>8</i>	16 <i>8</i>	36 <i>9</i>
attribute-postdeterminer %			16 <i>8</i>	17 <i>8.5</i>	8 <i>4</i>	15 <i>3.75</i>
postnominal %		1 <i>7.7</i>	12 <i>6</i>	6 <i>3</i>	12 <i>6</i>	10 <i>2.5</i>
attribute %		1 <i>7.7</i>	11 <i>5.5</i>	5 <i>2.5</i>	11 <i>5.5</i>	7 <i>1.75</i>
postdeterminer %			1 <i>0.5</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	1 <i>0.5</i>	3 <i>0.75</i>
total %	0	13 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	200 <i>100</i>	400 <i>100</i>

suggest strengthening of the lexical use at the expense of the grammatical uses. Yet, this does not appear to be the full story. Several other factors may have played a role in the increase of the lexical use and/or the decrease of the postdeterminer use. Firstly, the rise of a new lexical meaning for *distinct*, “clear”, “plain”, “unmistakable” (OED Vol. 3: 525), illustrated in (11.22), from 1710 onwards, might have caused stronger entrenchment of the lexical (predicative) use of the adjective.

Table 11.5. Historical distribution of the different uses of *distinct*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %	1 100	2 22.2	16 21.4	26 41.3	4 7.8	14 11.7
prenominal %		2 22.2	52 69.3	32 50.8	41 80.4	88 74
attribute %		2 22.2	21 28	16 25.4	11 21.6	41 34.5
plural individualizing postdeterminer %			15 20	10 15.9	18 35.3	31 26
postdeterminer-quantifier						
quantifier						
singular individualizing postdeterminer %			10 13.3		2 3.9	4 3.4
phoric postdeterminer %			3 4	4 6.3	4 7.8	5 4.2
attribute-postdeterminer %			3 4	2 3.2	6 11.8	7 5.9
postnominal %		5 55.6	7 9.3	5 7.9	6 11.8	17 14.3
attribute %		5 55.6	6 8	3 4.7	6 11.8	2 1.7
postdeterminer %			1 1.3	1 1.6		
complex construction %				1 1.6		15 12.6
total %	1 100	9 100	75 100	63 100	51 100	119 100

- (11.22) But one of the prisoners' wives, who was present, and came in with her, gave us **a more distinct account**: she informed us that as my wife, my daughter, and herself, were taking a walk together on the great road a little way out of the village, a post-chaise and pair drove up to them and instantly stopt. (CLMET 1710–1780)

Secondly, both adjectives are in competition with *various*, which is gaining ground as a postdeterminer and later as a quantifier, and which may have deterred the further grammaticalization of *different* and *distinct*. In the previous chapter, it was argued that the data for *different* demonstrate that, at roughly the same time, its phoric use lost out to *other*. With the exception of a very restricted set of contexts, *other* became the usual marker of the phoric relation of non-identity. The data for *distinct* suggest that a similar process happened to its phoric uses as well. All this seems to suggest that the grammaticalization of *different* and *distinct* came to a halt in the 1780–1850 data. That is, it appears to have reached an equilibrium with the adjectives being used both as lexical attribute and as postdeterminer (see Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg (2006) on stability and change in Nineteenth-century English).

This hypothesis tallies in with another important finding from the data: the virtual absence of the next stage of the suggested grammaticalization development, the quantifier use, from the data. The data for *distinct* show no evidence for this development at all (see Table 11.5) and although there are a few examples allowing a quantifier reading of *different*, e.g. (11.23), they are rather infrequent in my corpus data for the later periods (see Table 11.4).

- (11.23) A criminal was branded, during my stay here, for the third offence; but the relief he received made him declare that the judge was one of the best men in the world. I sent this wretch a trifle, at **different times**, to take with him into slavery.
(CLMET 1780–1850)

The equilibrium which I propose has been reached not only applies to the proportion of lexical to grammatical uses of the two adjectives, it is part of a stabilization of the distribution of all the adjectives in the field over different functions and contexts. *Several* and the disappearing *sundry* mainly occupy the function of quantifier, while *various* was up until 1920 the most frequent postdeterminer. In the COBUILD data, *various* is starting to become established as a quantifier and occurs especially in bridging contexts between postdeterminer and quantifier interpretation. *Several* is developing more and more characteristics typical of absolute quantifiers. *Sundry* is dropping out altogether. The main uses of *distinct* and *different* remain their lexical uses (for *distinct* this includes both the original lexical use expressing qualitative difference and others that can be paraphrased as “clear, plain”, “unmistakable” (OED Vol. 3: 525)), but they are also commonly used as postdeterminers, especially in the following contexts.

Distinct is often found in NPs containing a cardinal quantifier, as in (11.24), whereas *different* often expresses distributivity, e.g. (11.25), and is rather frequent in definite NPs, e.g. (11.26). All three contexts were throughout history successively occupied mainly by *several* and *various*. In the Present-day English data, *different* also comes to be used often in combination with a cardinal quantifier, as in (11.27), which seems to indicate that its range is being broadened at the expense of the post-determiner uses of *distinct*.

- (11.24) McCauley said the new shuttle radar pictures supported a historical picture that he and several colleagues had been developing for more than a decade. He said during the past 40 million years, **three distinct systems** had etched themselves into north Africa. (CB)
- (11.25) “So I’ll say what I think but I’d really have a bit more confidence if I’d got my friends because I just feel better with my friends.”
“Your friends aren’t always going to be there. You might go off to **different countries** and you’ve got to think by yourself when you get to our age...” (CB)
- (11.26) The members of the executive or administration of a business or organization: They will not necessarily be the owners of the business, but will be selected by the owners to be responsible for **the different functions** of the organization. (CB)
- (11.27) The cards, from Futera, will put you on the wave of popularity rugby union is riding after the excitement of the World and Bledisloe Cups. There are **110 different cards** in the series featuring past and present rugby greats including Tim Horan, Jason Little and Campese Ken Catchpole, Roger Gould and Andrew Slack. (CB)

Finally, tables 11.4 and 11.5 show that, in addition to the grammatical uses discussed so far, both *different* and *distinct* also have minor uses as phoric postdeterminer in NPs with external comparison and as distributive postdeterminer in singular NPs with internal comparison. These will be discussed separately in Sections 11.4 and 11.5.

11.2.3. *Divers(e)*

The data for the adjective *divers(e)* support the general claim that it has been going through the same process of grammaticalization as the other adjectives. However, as we will see, the interpretation of the data is far

from straightforward due to the occurrence of two spelling variants, *divers* and *diverse*. According to the OED (Vol. 3: 548–549), the distribution of the two variants is the following. Before 1700, the two were interchangeable and could be used lexically as well as in the grammatical postdeterminer and quantifier use. From 1700 onwards, the variant *diverse* was mainly restricted to lexical uses, while *divers* was limited to the grammatical uses. The corpus data investigated here reveal that the relation between the two forms is more complicated than this.

In the Helsinki data, the two indeed behave rather similarly, but even here there are a number of differences. Overall the data evidence two developments, as shown in Tables 11.6 and 11.7. The first one is the loss of lexical uses, illustrated in (11.28) and (11.29), and a complimentary increase in grammatical uses. Secondly, they support the claim that the adjectives underwent the secondary grammaticalization process when the relative frequencies shift from higher frequency of the postdeterminer use, (11.30) and (11.31), to higher frequency of the quantifier use, (11.32) and (11.33).

- (11.28) The .vij. day ys fortunat to begynne alle werkys vp-on; that persone that ys born that day schuld be dysposyd to be sotel off wytt and **dyuerse** off condycionnys and chongabyll, and dysposyd to lyfe longe; [...] (HC 1250–1500)

‘The seventh day is favourable to begin all work on; the person who is born that day should be disposed to be sharp of wit and varied of dispositions and diversified, and disposed to live long; [...].’

- (11.29) The nombre of þe intestynes is 6. And þogh þay be alle contynue, neuerþelatter þei haue **dyuers schappes and offices**, by þe whiche þai beþ departed, þat is to say, 3 smale and as many grete, whos cathologe is put of Galien, “De Vtilitate”, capitulo. (HC 1250–1500)

‘The number of intestines is 6. And though they are all continuous, nevertheless they have different shapes and functions, by which they can be told apart, that is to say, 3 small ones and as many large ones, whose catalogue is done by Galienus, “De Utilitate”, capitulo.’

- (11.30) Thou seist that oxen, asses, hors, and houndes, They been assayed at **diverse stoundes**; Bacyns, lavours, er that men hem bye, Spoones and stooles, and al swich housbondrye, And so been pottes, clothes, and array; But folk of wyves maken noon assay, Til they be wedded -olde dotard shrewel- And thanne, seistow, we wol oure vices shewe. (HC 1250–1500)

Table 11.6. Historical distribution of the different uses of *divers*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative %	1 2.4	9 10.8				
prenominal %	40 95.2	74 89.2	17 100	20 100	5 100	3 100
attribute %	3 7.1	1 1.2				2 67.7
plural individualizing postdeterminer %	22 52.4	18 21.7	4 23.5	6 30	3 60	
postdeterminer-quantifier %	4 9.5	18 21.7	3 17.7	4 20	1 20	
quantifier %	10 23.8	30 36.2	10 58.8	10 50	1 20	1 33.3
singular individualizing postdeterminer %		1 1.2				
phoric postdeterminer %	1 2.4	4 4.8				
attribute-postdeterminer %		2 2.4				
postnominal %	1 2.4					
attribute %	1 2.4					
postdeterminer						
total %	42 100	83 100	17 100	20 100	5 100	3 100

‘You say that oxen, asses, horses, and hounds, They have been tested at **different moments**; Basins, pitchers, before men buy them, spoons and stools, and all such household items. And so are pots, clothes, and attire; But people do not test wives, till they be wedded -shrewd old dotard!- And then, you say, we will reveal our vices.’

Table 11.7. Historical distribution of the different uses of *diverse*

	1250– 1500	1500– 1710	1710– 1780	1780– 1850	1850– 1920	1990–
predicative	4	1			7	32
%	6.9	5.9			33.3	16
prenominal	54	16		3	13	143
%	93.1	94.1		100	61.9	71.5
attribute	4			3	10	102
%	6.9			100	47.6	51
plural individualizing postdeterminer	27	3			2	28
%	46.5	17.6			9.5	14
postdeterminer-quantifier	12	2				3
%	20.7	11.8				1.5
quantifier	8	11				
%	13.8	64.7				
singular individualizing postdeterminer						
phoric postdeterminer						
attribute-postdeterminer	3				1	10
%	5.2				4.8	5
postnominal					1	25
%					4.8	12.5
attribute					1	25
%					4.8	12.5
postdeterminer						
total	58	17	0	3	21	200
%	100	100		100	100	100

(11.31) In the mene tyme many strange and woundyrfulle bylle were sete in dyvers placys, sum at the kyngys owne chambyr doore at Westemyster, in hys palyse, and sum at the halle dore at Westemyster, ande sum at Poulys chyrche dore, and in **many othyr dyvers placys** of London. (HC 1250–1500)

‘In the mean time many strange and wonderful weapons were put in different places, some at the king’s own chamber door at Westminster, in his palace, and some at the door of the hall at Westminster, and some at the door of Paul’s Church, and in **many other different places** in London.’

- (11.32) Also, Madam, yff it lyke you, I have bene with my brodyr, John Betson, ffor money, and be my trouth I can none have off hym, he hath shewid me that my Mayster your husbaund and ye owe hym ffor **dyverse wynes**, Summa xij. li. vj. s. viij. d., as by the parceller herin closed more clerelyar it appereth, the which parcelles my brodyr saith that þei be trew.
(HC 1250–1500)

‘Also, Madam, if it pleases you, I have been to my brother, John Betson, for money, and on my word I can have none from him, he has shown me that my Master your husband and you owe him for **several wines**, the sum of which xij. li. vj. s. viij. d., as in the lists of payment enclosed herein appears more clearly, of which lists my brother says that they are true.’

- (11.33) Apon this mene he stiked faste, and thoghte hit was resonable and ever asked of me **divers tymes** what y wolde seye therto, all as y conceive to tempte me, and to concente to a mene, &c. [. . .]
(HC 1250–1500)

‘On this middle ground he was firmly set, and thought it was reasonable and once asked me **several times** what I would say about it, all as I conceive to tempt me, and to consent to a middle ground, &c. [. . .]’

However, the development as set out so far is restricted to the Helsinki data for *diverse*, which even disappears from the data in the period 1710–1780. The development is more gradual for *divers* and continues up until 1850. From 1850 onwards, the data suggest that *divers* starts to disappear from the language, whereas *diverse* resurfaces in the period 1780–1850 and is then, indeed, restricted to lexical uses only as was claimed by the OED, e.g. (11.34).

- (11.34) With one word on his style as a prose-writer this short paper must close. **The most diverse opinions** have been uttered on the subject. The critics trip up each other with charming independency. (CMLET 1780–1850)

From 1850 onwards, *diverse* seems to undergo grammaticalization from attribute to postdeterminer for the second time. In the COBUILD data, the postdeterminer use, illustrated in (11.35), makes up 14% of the examples.

- (11.35) The story begins immediately after the First World War when in nineteen-nineteen the council decided to build a new civic centre which would bring together **all the diverse arms** of the administration in a single area. (CB)

Diverse does not appear to have an unambiguous quantifier use.

As the figures in Table 11.6 show, the variant *divers* has basically disappeared in Present-day English.

11.3. Adjectives of difference in singular NPs with internal comparison

The data show that all adjectives except *various* have developed a non-phoric postdeterminer use in a singular NP at a certain stage in their history. This use is, however, always limited to a small portion of the data. Interestingly, the actual moment of occurrence of this singular postdeterminer use coincides with the period in which the postdeterminer is the main use of the adjective in a plural NP, and it disappears as soon as the quantifier use becomes the dominant use in this context. For *several*, *sundry* and *divers*, for example, the only examples of the singular non-phoric postdeterminer use, illustrated by (11.36), (11.37) and (11.38) respectively, are found in the period 1500–1710, when the quantifier use had not yet become their main use.⁵

- (11.36) For to euery seuerall place, yea to euerye little moment of the earth in an oblique Spheare, belongeth his proper Horizon and **seuerall altitude** of the Pole, whereby it appeareth that the Horizons are infinite and without number. (HC 1500–1710)

5. Table 11.1 indicates two examples of this type of use for *sundry* in the COBUILD data, but these do not fit in with the regular pattern described in this section. The two examples referred to, one of which is included here as illustration, do not have a distributive meaning, they rather express simple plurality but with a singular uncount noun as head instead of the normal plural count noun.

(i) I replaced the book and stood in the middle of the room, gazing at **the sundry video equipment**, the computers and printers, the endless file cabinets, and the ubiquitous testimonies to Wald himself. The room seemed to ring with his presence. (CB)

- (11.37) The creation of all thinges, & the disposing of mutable Natures, & what euer by any meane is mooued, getes the cause, order, & forme of Godes mynde, stabilitie. And this sett in the top of her Purenes, appoyntes **a sondry manner** for ech action: which order, when it is beheld in the very cleerenes of diuine vnderstanding, is named “Prouidence”. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.38) Dost thou thinke that the father of al things hath taken from any outwarde thinge the same soueraygne good, whereof it is sayde he is ful, or els thynkest thou that he hath it naturallie of hymselfe? As thoughe thou shouldyst thinke that God hymselfe and the blessednes of God be of **dyuers distyncte substaunce** and not vnite all in one or of one onely substaunce? (HC 1500–1710)

Similarly, the two adjectives that have never developed a real quantifier use, *different* and *distinct*, can still be used in this singular context in Present-day English, as illustrated in (11.39) and (11.40).

- (11.39) RIDE FROM HOTEL TO HOTEL: Each night is **a different hotel**, different village. (CB)
- (11.40) The forces of production refer to the organizational and technological means applied to the process of production and, as such, they serve both to characterize the process of production under any specific mode of production (MOP) and to create the conditions for change from one MOP to another. [...] In other words, the Marxist vision of history was informed by a succession of mops in time, each of which constituted **a distinct historical stage**. (CB)

This particular postdeterminer use seems to have been a very productive pattern for *distinct* (taking up 40% of the non-phoric postdeterminer data) in the period 1710–1780. (11.41) is an example from this period.

- (11.41) Matter, therefore, is not a mode but a substance, and each part of matter is not **a distinct mode**, but **a distinct substance**. (CLMET 1500–1710)

In the subsequent periods the singular distributive pattern became much less frequent and even disappeared from the data in the period 1780–1850. The pattern is attested again in the data from 1850–1920 and it remains available in the Present-day English data, where it is however not very frequent.

11.4. Adjectives of difference in NPs with external comparison

The second minor grammatical use found in the data for these adjectives of difference is a phoric postdeterminer use similar to *other*. This use occurs in NPs expressing external rather than internal comparison. Again the availability of this minor postdeterminer use coincides with the period in which the quantifier use of the adjective in a plural NP has not yet become established as the predominant one.

For *sundry* and *divers*, a few phoric postdeterminer uses are attested before 1710, e.g. (11.42) and (11.43), and the 1500–1710 data for *several* contain one potential (cata)phoric postdeterminer example, reproduced here as (11.44).

- (11.42) For as much as the almykanteras in thin Astrelabie ben compowned by two and two, where as somme almykanteras in **sondry astrelabies** be compowned by 1 and 1, or elles by 2 and 2, it is necessarie to thy lernyng to teche the first to knowe and worke with thin oun instrument. (HC 1250–1500)
- ‘For as much as the almicanteras in your Astrolabe are designed by two and two, whereas some almicanteras in other astrolabes are designed by 1 and 1, or otherwise by 2 and 2, it is necessary for your education to teach (you) the first to know and work with your own instrument.’
- (11.43) But to leaue this new Leach craft, with thier doting inuentions, I wil here speake of **diuers remedies** very respectiue & appropriate, for the cure of the before named infirmity, as a president and example for young practizers of Chirurgery to follow. (HC 1500–1710)
- (11.44) The word “Mogoll”, in their language is as much as to say, the great white King; for he is a white man and of the Race of the Tartares. He is King of many Kingdomes, and writeth himselfe in his stile, “Patteshaw Shelham Shogh”, that is, the King of all the great coynes. For there is **a seuerall coyne** at “Lahore”, another at “Bramport”, another at “Surrot”, another at “Cambaia”, another at “Sabbarton”, and another at “Awgru” [...] (HC 1500–1710)

The corpus included a few examples of phoric grammaticalized *various* dating from 1780–1850, i.e. before the main breakthrough of the quan-

tifier use attested in the COBUILD data. One of these is reproduced here (11.45).

- (11.45) Some persons, I know, estimate happiness by fine houses, gardens, and parks; others by pictures, horses, money, and **various things** wholly remote from their own species; but when I wish to ascertain the real felicity of any rational man, I always inquire **WHOM HE HAS TO LOVE**. (CLMET 1780–1850)

For *distinct* and *different*, this postdeterminer use is again still present in the Present-day English data, as (11.46) and (11.47) illustrate, but it never really gained a strong foothold.

- (11.46) The Indian economist S. Lall, in a 1975 paper, took the idea of dependence to mean underdevelopment, no more and no less, and from that angle went on to argue that since some highly industrialized economies, by definition non-dependent, also were dependent in crucial ways, then either they were not developed or dependence said and explained nothing about underdevelopment except “to pick off some salient features of modern capitalism as it affects some less developed countries and put them into **a distinct category of dependence**”. (CB)
- (11.47) You know when you go to other countries they’re proud of their local accent and things. It’s surprising though just what bits and bobs y just you hear around about you know and er like you say older people especially have a lot more sort of “twang” words as we call ‘em that you can er go back to you know. And if you don’t understand it well, can you think of anything say in the house that you would have **a different name** for? (CB)

11.5. Grammaticalization in the field of difference: paths and distribution

Now that all different uses of adjectives of difference have been looked at from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, we are in a position to draw some generalizations about the grammaticalization of these adjectives as a group. The main observation to be made is that the availability of two structural patterns of comparison, external versus internal comparison, has led to two distinct paths of grammaticalization. The first one involved the development of postdeterminers that establish complex phoric relations involving non-identity with a separately coded antecedent. The second path consists of a double process of grammaticalization: from

attribute uses into postdeterminers that individualize the instantial set denoted by the NP and from these postdeterminers to a new further grammaticalized quantifier use. Both grammaticalization paths are supported by the diachronic case studies presented in this chapter and in Chapter 10.

The diachronic studies of *other* and *different* in Chapter 10 (Section 10.2) and those of the six adjectives of difference in this chapter have made clear that the two paths are largely associated with different specific adjectives; they tend to be mutually exclusive in the sense that adjectives either specialize along one or the other path. The data for *other* for example evidence only the phoric postdeterminer use, while *several* is restricted to the grammatical uses of the second path, the individualizing postdeterminer and the quantifier uses. The other adjectives, *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *sundry* and *various*, had/have phoric as well as individualizing postdeterminer uses, but they clearly show a skewed distribution in which the individualizing uses largely outnumber the phoric ones. In this respect the adjectives of difference can be contrasted with those of identity, *same* and *identical*, which both have grammatical uses that construe external as well as internal comparison (see Chapters 7 and 10). Furthermore, the majority of phoric and non-phoric postdeterminer uses expressing referential identity convey the same general meaning: they indicate that one (generalized) instance is associated with different circumstances. Therefore, we can conclude that the factor internal versus external construal is not distinctive for the grammaticalization of adjectives of identity.

The overall distribution of the field of difference in Present-day English can be represented in the following way, see Figure 11.1.

Three adjectives, *different*, *distinct*, and *diverse*, still have lexical uses as predicative adjective and as attribute in the NP. The same three adjectives can be used as individualizing postdeterminer in singular NPs and together with *various* they make up the set of adjectives that have an individualizing postdeterminer use in plural NPs. *Various* overlaps with *several* in that both adjectives are regularly used as quantifiers. (The limited quantifier use of *different* is not represented in Figure 11.1.) *Divers* and *sundry* have become obsolete. In addition to grammatical uses as individualizing postdeterminers in singular and plural NPs, *different* and *distinct* can also function as phoric postdeterminers besides *other*, which has phoric uses only. As indicated by the arrow on the left-hand side of Figure 11.1, the phoric postdeterminer use can further be expressed by a new set of adjectives, the adjectives of similarity *similar* and *comparable*.

Two processes appear to me to have played a determining role in the historical evolution leading to this current distribution: “renewal”, i.e. the process whereby existing meanings take on new forms (Hopper and

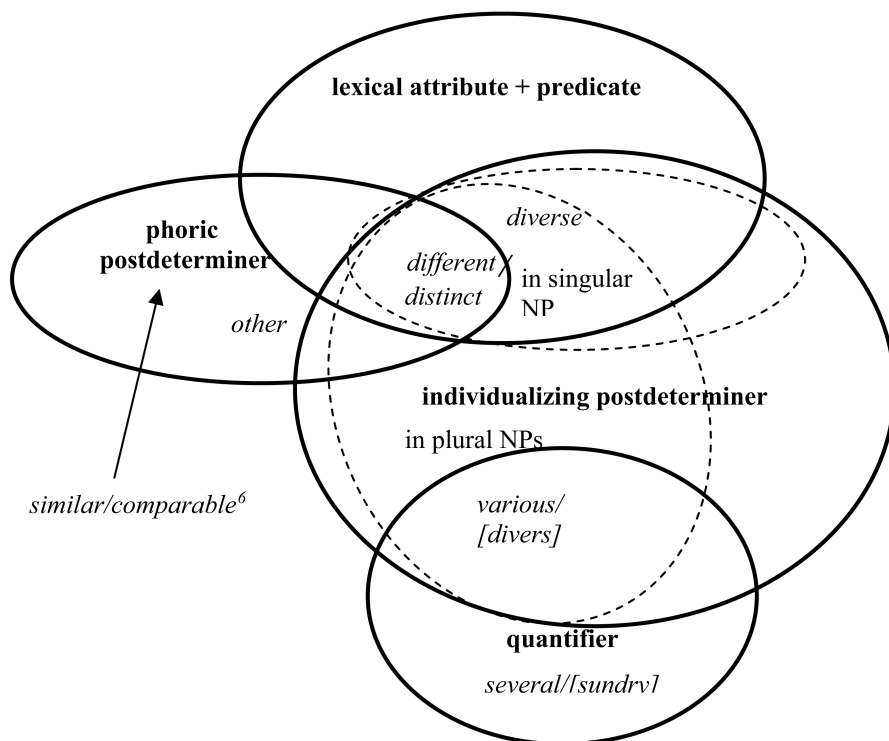


Figure 11.1. The field of difference in current English

Traugott 2003: 122, based on Meillet's (1915–1916) concept of 'renouvellement') and competition (see also the discussion of *different* and *distinct* in Section 11.2.2). The first concept, renewal, can be held responsible for the disappearance of *sundry* and *diverse*, which had completed the two-step grammaticalization process to the quantifier use when *several* reached the second stage and replaced them as most common quantifier. At the same time when *several* became especially associated with the quantifier function, the individualizing postdeterminer function which it fulfilled before became the main use of *various*. The most recent similar development seems to be that *various* is becoming increasingly used as quantifier, while

6. The synchronic corpus study carried out by Breban and Davidse (2003) showed that another set of adjectives, adjectives expressing order such as *additional* and *further*, have a similar phoric postdeterminer use introducing new instances of a known type (see also Breban forthcoming).

the individualizing postdeterminer use is expressed by the adjectives that started grammaticalizing the latest, *different* and *distinct*.

The second factor, competition between the different adjectives, is observable in the striving towards complementary distribution of the different adjectives within the field of difference. This tendency can explain what happened to the development of *different* and *distinct* from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. It can be hypothesized that the grammaticalization process of the field had reached a situation in which all different uses could be expressed, which resulted in an equilibrium that has largely been maintained since then. For *different* and *distinct*, this meant that they did not develop a quantifier use and that their phoric post-determiner use was largely restricted to one particular structural pattern: the establishment of exophoric relations.

11.6. Testing the leftward movement hypothesis

In Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.3), I discussed Adamson's (2000) proposal that Traugottian attitudinal subjectification, i.e. the development of subjective meanings expressing the speaker's attitude and beliefs (Traugott 1995, 2003a), is formally reflected in leftward movement in the English NP. The more subjective a meaning is in this sense, the more to the left it will occur in the NP. I proposed that the leftward movement hypothesis has strong affinities with Langacker's (1990, 1998, 2002a) ground-related interpretation of subjectification. That is to say, in the model of the English NP grounding elements are subsumed in the determiner zone, which is the leftmost zone of the English NP. As a result, the development of new grounding uses of prior non-groundrelated elements is expected to always involve a move to the determiner zone, i.e. a move to the left. In this section I will confront this reformulated leftward movement hypothesis with an actual language example of subjectification into determiner elements, the development of the adjectives of comparison.

Of the adjectives studied in Chapter 10, four display a subjectification process from lexical attribute to postdeterminer; they are *other*, *different*, *similar*, and *comparable*. However, the accompaniment of their subjectification by leftward movement in the NP is difficult to prove as the post-determiner occupies the 'post'-determiner position in the determiner zone, which is a position on the right of the primary determiner (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.5). The only actual evidence of a change in position is constituted by data in which the adjectives as postdeterminers are found in the

position preceding another determiner. As noted in Chapter 3 (Section 3.5), this is the case in examples in which the postdeterminer takes scope over a quantified instantial set, i.e. the head noun with its modifiers and a quantifier, e.g. (11.48).

- (11.48) I am sorry that I can't be at the meeting this Friday, although I will be at **the other two events I have mentioned**. (CB)

In this example, the speaker talks about Friday's meeting and then about another set of events which as the quantifier specifies includes two instances. It has to be noted that in the data this special postdeterminer use is rather infrequent and restricted to the most entrenched determiner-postdeterminer combinations, *another* and *the other*. For the other adjectives, *different*, *similar* and *comparable*, no similar examples are found in the COBUILD corpus. However, with a Google search I was able to find a few examples in which *different* has a similar function and precedes the quantifier in the NP, e.g. (11.49) and (11.50).

- (11.49) Two of George's songs have recently been covered by Vin Garbutt and Andy Irvine respectively, while at one particular festival I attended recently no less than three of his songs were performed at singarounds, and **a different four songs** have entered my own repertoire. (<http://www.netrhythms.co.uk/reviewsp.html>)
- (11.50) The course is time-consuming for all, but rewarding for most; students have nominated me for the Arts College teaching awards each of the last three years. Two other pieces of feedback help me measure my success here: I "debrief" with three students after most classes (**a different three** each time). (<http://www.faculty.umb.edu/pjt/teachingsummary.html>)

But the search showed that examples such as these are very infrequent for *different*.

The adjectives of difference studied in this chapter present a stronger argument in support of the leftward movement hypothesis. They were argued to display a double process of grammaticalization and subjectification, and are by consequence expected to manifest a double move to the left: first from attribute position in the central quality-attribution zone to postdeterminer position in the determiner zone and then within the determiner zone from postdeterminer to primary determiner position as abso-

lute quantifiers.⁷ These different positions are confirmed by the diachronic data for *sundry* and *several*.

Firstly, the leftward movement hypothesis stipulates that in current English the adjectives *several* and *sundry*, which have grammaticalized completely, can no longer occur in the central attribution zone, but have to occur on the left of it. In the COBUILD data this is reflected in the absence of (1) examples in which these adjectives occupy a position on the right of other attributes and (2) examples in which they are coordinated with another attribute. Examples (11.51) and (11.52) convey that these two patterns were available to *several* and *sundry* in older stages of English, when they could still be used as attributes as is the case in these examples.

- (11.51) **1596 SPENSER** *State Irel.* Wks. (Globe) 681/2 All men should marke theyr cattell with **an open severall marke** upon theyr flankes. (OED Vol. 9: 568)
 ‘All men should mark their cattle with **an open distinctive or clear mark** on their flanks’
- (11.52) **1532** (?a1400) **RRose** (Thynne) 1437: Ful gaye was al the grounde ... With **many a fresshe and sondrie floure**. (MED Vol. 19: 181)
 ‘The entire ground was super lively ... with **many a fresh and varied flower**.’

Secondly, notwithstanding the fact that neither of the adjectives has fully shifted to quantifier use only, the shift from postdeterminer to quantifier is in the same way apparent from the absence of certain orderings that were available in older stages of the language. More specifically, there are no examples in the COBUILD corpus in which *several* or *sundry* occupy the position following postdeterminer *other* or in which they are found on the right of another quantifier. As examples (11.53–11.55) illustrate both patterns are attested in the available diachronic material.

- (11.53) *c* **1470 HENRY Wallace** I.29 Elrisle ... Auchinbothe, and **othir syndry place**. (OED Vol. 10: 159)
 ‘Elrisle ... Auchinbothe, and **different other places**.’

7. As discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.6.1), as quantifiers the adjectives occupy the first position of the NP when reference is indefinite and the position following the definite article when the NP has definite identification.

- (11.54) **1570-6** LAMBARDE *Peramb. Kent* (1826) 198 The third Brooke ...
being crossed in the way by **seven other sundry bridges**.
(OED Vol. 10: 159)
- (11.55) When we came to the Town, **two several Churches** strove to
receive us; but having some Acquaintance with the Father of the
one, and not with the other, we excused ourselves to the latter,
and took up with our Friend. (HC 1640–1710)

In the corpus data, the combination quantifier + *several* is present in the first two available samples, 1500–1710 and 1710–1780. When used as quantifier, the adjectives themselves fill the position that is in example (11.55) occupied by *two*. The combination *other* + *several/sundry*, illustrated with two examples from the OED (11.53 and 11.54) was not attested in the diachronic data base.

In sum, the development of adjectives of comparison traced in the synchronic and diachronic data presented in this study seems to support the association of subjectification into determiner elements and leftward movement in the English NP. Especially the two adjectives that have gone through the double grammaticalization from attribute to postdeterminer to quantifier, *several* and *sundry*, are revealing in this respect.

11.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have confronted the hypothesized grammaticalization path from lexical attribute to individualizing postdeterminer to quantifier with historical data material of six adjectives of difference that have one or both of these grammatical uses in current English, *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various*. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this investigation is that the data confirm the suggested double grammaticalization path.

Firstly, the general grammaticalization hypothesis is supported by the data in two ways. On the one hand, there are adjectives such as *several* and *sundry* which display the loss of lexical uses, i.e. their data contain a first stage with both lexical and grammaticalized uses and a later one with grammatical uses only. On the other hand, the data for *various*, *distinct* and *different* show the acquisition of grammatical uses in that they consist of early data with lexical uses only and a subsequent stage in which both lexical and grammatical uses are present.

Secondly, this diachronic study lends support to the specific two-step grammaticalization path from attribute to individualizing postdeterminer and from individualizing postdeterminer to quantifier. That is to say, the data confirm that the quantifier use constitutes a later development. The data for *several*, *sundry* and *various* (as well as the early data for *divers(e)*) manifest a decrease of postdeterminer uses and a corresponding increase of quantifier uses. However, the historical data for *distinct* and *different* makes clear that the development of adjectives of difference along this path of grammaticalization did not lead to the straightforward completion for all adjectives. Instead, the data suggest that an equilibrium in the distribution of the six adjectives over the different uses was reached at the end of the eighteenth century which has been maintained since then.

At the end of this chapter, I used the diachronic analysis of this double path of grammaticalization to test the leftward movement hypothesis formulated in Chapter 2. On the basis of the comparison of attested historical orders and ordering patterns found in the COBUILD corpus, I was able to show that *several* and *sundry* have lost the ability to occur in their rightmost positions, including firstly, their position in the quality-attribution zone, and secondly, their postdeterminer position following other post-determiners or absolute quantifiers in the determiner zone.

12. Summary

In this study I have proposed, developed, and argued one main claim: that the English adjectives of comparison have been affected by processes of grammaticalization and subjectification in the NP which resulted in their current ability to perform various functions in the NP such as attribute, postdeterminer, classifier, and quantifier. I have elaborated this claim descriptively on the basis of extensive corpus analyses in critical confrontation with existing approaches to the English NP on the one hand and the literature on grammaticalization and subjectification on the other. Importantly, this descriptive work has fed back into the theory on the English NP in general and on grammaticalization and subjectification in the NP in particular.

I started by setting up the conceptual framework for the analysis of the English adjectives of comparison. First, I designed a model for the English NP that is able to accommodate changes such as grammaticalization and lexicalization (**Chapter 1**). Essentially, this model has to be functional rather than class-based. As a starting point, I combined elements from several existing function-based analyses. I used Bache's (2000) zonal approach together with Halliday's (1994 [1985]) detailed description of the elements English NP. The determiner function was elaborated in Cognitive Grammar terms (Langacker 1991) as effecting the grounding of the NP. Deviating from Bache's (2000) model, I firstly rearranged the central modification zone of the NP and restricted it to its essential function of quality-attribution, while I assigned postdeterminers and classifiers to the outer zones, determination and categorization. The resulting model conceptualizes the NP as consisting of three main functional zones, determination (subsuming identifiers and quantifiers), quality-attribution, and categorization. In the second place, I added a dynamic aspect, which provides for elements to change function: the three zones have transition areas that allow elements to shift from the central attribution zone to the two outer zones via ad-hoc determining and classifying uses. A third difference with many existing models is that I coupled this function-based characterization of the elements in the NP to a matching analysis of their combinatorics. In the literature, it is often assumed that all elements engage in similar head-modifier relations with the head noun. However, applying McGregor's (1997) theory of syntagmatic structures, I suggested that determiners engage in a scoping relation with the instantial set denoted by the NP, while attributes and classifiers enter into independent

and recursive head-modifier relations with the instantial set and the type description respectively.

In **Chapter 2**, I presented an overview of the existing discussions of processes of grammaticalization taking place in the NP. The NP is a rather neglected area of research: firstly, there are only very few studies dealing with grammaticalization in the NP and secondly, the topics that have been covered have not been looked at from the perspective of a global analysis. Addressing the latter issue, I proposed that grammaticalization in the English NP proceeds along two paths, one displaying attitudinal subjectification (Traugott 2003a), i.e. the development of strengthening elements, and a second one involving Langackerian subjectification (Langacker 1990, 1998), i.e. the development of determining or grounding elements. The discussion of existing studies in the light of these two paths revealed that the second path, the development of determining elements, had not yet been studied in depth. Filling this gap in the literature was one of the main descriptive-theoretical goals of this study.

In Chapters 3 to 5, I formulated the actual grammaticalization and subjectification hypothesis for the English adjectives of comparison. I introduced the different elements leading to the hypothesis by means of a step-by-step discussion of the only existing analysis of English adjectives of comparison known to me, that of Halliday and Hasan (1976) (**Chapter 3**). The main conclusion of this discussion was that prenominal adjectives of comparison divide over two types of uses: on the one hand, they can function as attribute expressing a fully lexical meaning 'descriptive likeness' and, on the other hand, they can fulfil several other functions, including that of postdeterminer, phoric classifier, and quantifier, which contribute to identification and quantification processes in the NP. Formally, the second type of functions can be distinguished from the attribute use in that they do not allow further grading or alternation with predicative construal. I then proposed that this semantic-functional and formal differentiation could only be accounted for as resulting from grammaticalization and subjectification of the adjectives of comparison. More specifically, I proposed that the lexical attribute use constituted the input for grammaticalization and subjectification processes leading to different referential postdeterminer uses. These postdeterminer uses then further developed into phoric classifiers and quantifiers. The simultaneous presence of the different uses in current English can be conceived of as layering, resulting from grammaticalization (Hopper 1991).

In **Chapter 4**, I further developed this grammaticalization claim by investigating which semantic and formal reflexes associated with gram-

maticalization characterized the grammatical uses of adjectives of comparison in current English. As I hope to have shown, the adjectives of comparison conform to the semantic development expected of grammaticalizing elements in several respects. First and foremost, I argued that the meanings involved instantiate one of Traugott's (1982, 1989) three original paths of grammaticalization, that from lexical descriptive to textual meanings. In addition, I discussed that the textual meanings when compared to the lexical ones appear to have been affected by several typical processes such as grammaticalization in the strict sense and delexicalization, loss of semantic autonomy (Lehmann 1985, 1995 [1982]), and generalization (Bybee 1985, 2003). I further proposed that the semantic shifts hypothesized are driven by conventionalization of context-induced inferences (Heine et al. 1991; Traugott and König 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]). I argued that because the grammaticalization process is still continuing for certain adjectives of comparison in current English, bridging contexts (Evans and Wilkins 2000), can be observed in synchronic data. These bridging contexts might help us to understand the contexts in which the semantic changes were triggered, i.e. critical contexts (Diewald 2002, 2008).

The possible formal reflexes of grammaticalization visible in the data presented more of a challenge for the existing approaches in grammaticalization studies. According to some, the key formal feature to grammaticalization is reanalysis directly observable in formal rebracketing and/or category shift. The grammatical uses of adjectives of comparison in general do not manifest such overt features. However, their grammaticalized status has other formal consequences that can be found in actual language data. With reference to Lehmann's (1985, 1995 [1982]) approach, I distinguished between paradigmatic and syntagmatic changes. Regarding paradigmatic change, I argued that even though the different uses of the adjectives do not constitute an example of category shift, they do show significant decategorialization. Following up on Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]) and Denison (2006), I defended an interpretation of this process as the loss and gain of prototypical features associated with adjectives and determiners respectively. These features include the loss of gradability and of the predicative alternation, as well as a change in structural configuration (see also Croft 2001; Denison 2006). I also pointed out that for one adjective of difference, *several*, this process of decategorialization has resulted in acknowledged category shift from adjective to quantifier and extensive paradigmaticization (Lehmann 1985, 1995 [1982]) in the quantifier category.

From a syntagmatic perspective, I suggested that the most important change that appears to have been part of the grammaticalization of adjectives of comparison has not been recognized in the literature so far. It involves a change in combinatorics. I proposed that their semantic-functional shift from lexical attribute to postdeterminer use goes together with a structural change from a head-modifier to a scoping relation. That is to say, the postdeterminer uses combine with the primary determiner of the NP into one determiner unit that encompasses the instantial set and specifies its referential status against the background of knowledge and expectations shared by speaker and hearer. I suggested that this structural change can be conceived of as a form of syntagmatic rebracketing from independent modifier to part of the determiner unit and pointed out that this process of reanalysis has been conventionalized orthographically for one adjective-determiner combination, *another*.

In order to capture the specifics of the semantic change involved in the grammaticalization, which in Chapter 4 was only generally characterized as a change from descriptive to textual meaning, I invoked Traugott's (1995) and Langacker's (1990, 1998) notions of subjectivity and subjectification in **Chapter 5**. I first argued that the grammatical postdeterminers and quantifiers that were proposed to result from grammaticalization exhibit Traugottian subjectivity in that their meanings relate to speaker and hearer (Traugott 1995). However, these meanings do not become speaker-involved in that they express speaker-attitude in the sense of Traugott (2003a, 2007a, 2010; Traugott and Dasher 2002). Rather, they bring in the speaker as creator of text, that is, they provide new means for him/her to organize discourse and make it accessible to the hearer. This type of 'textual subjectivity' was introduced in Traugott (1995) as complementary to attitudinal subjectivity. In later work, Traugott has discussed these textual meanings as solely being grammaticalized and not subjective. I advocated that textual (inter)subjectivity as evinced by the grammaticalized adjectives of comparison should be included in a comprehensive notion of subjectivity.

Secondly, I argued that Langacker's interpretation of subjectivity offers the analytical tools to precisely capture the essence of the new postdeterminer and quantifier uses. Subjectivity as defined by Langacker (1990, 1998) can be unravelled into two steps. Firstly, it is concerned with meanings that relate to the conceptualizer and the conceptualization process rather than to the conceptualized content. Secondly, it requires these meanings to be construed with maximal subjectivity, i.e. with the conceptualizer as implicit reference point. According to Langacker (2002a,

2002b), the grounding predications of VP and NP are maximally subjective. They crucially invoke the ground (speaker, hearer and the speech situation), but as off-stage reference point. In the literature so far, only processes of subjectification leading to verbal grounding predications have been investigated in detail, but there are no accounts of the subjectification processes involved development of nominal grounding predications. I have tried to do just this in my hypotheses concerning the postdeterminer and quantifier uses of adjectives of comparison. As put forward by Davidse, Breban and Van linden (2008), (post)determiners can be argued to develop through a process of subjectification in the NP equivalent to auxiliarization in the VP. That is to say, the relation expressed by the adjective acquires a reference point in the speech event, which may coincide with the ground but may also be a secondary reference point distinct from the ground. I pointed out that the subjective uses of adjectives of comparison do not invoke any secondary reference points: I compared the value of quantifier and phoric postdeterminer uses as part of primary determiner + postdeterminer units with the cognitive analysis of primary determiners in the NP (Langacker 1991, 2001, 2004a; Davidse 2004) and thus was able to show that their subjective reference point always coincides with the ground, including the instantial mass M_T consisting of all instances of the type in the discourse context. Moreover, because they do not profile the relation with the ground or the ground itself, the quantifiers and determiner-postdeterminer units were argued to be real grounding predications equivalent to primary determiners. I suggested that the advanced subjectivity displayed by the grammatical uses of adjectives of comparison could be explained by the close semantic connection between their referential meanings of identity and non-identity and the very concepts of identification and quantification involved in primary determination.

After presenting the theoretical argumentation for the grammaticalization-cum-subjectification hypothesis in Part I, I went on to investigate it descriptively in synchronic data for six core adjectives of comparison, *other* and *different* for difference, *same* and *identical* for identity, and *similar* and *comparable* for similarity. In three consecutive chapters, **Chapters 6, 7, and 8**, I drew up detailed profiles of the different synchronic lexical and grammatical uses of the two representative adjectives for each of the three subfields of comparison. Most importantly, these analyses suggested that the proposed grammaticalization development towards postdeterminer and quantifier uses subsumed three distinct paths.

(1) The first grammaticalization path is defined by **the external comparison pattern of difference** and involves lexical attribute uses expressing unlikeness with a separately coded entity developing into postdeterminer uses setting up complex phoric relations of non-identity with an antecedent in the discourse. The complexity of these phoric relations lies in the fact that the postdeterminers signal non-identity on instance-level but identity on type-level. As such, their phoric value can be characterized as type-anaphora (Davidse 2001). In a second step, the phoric relation of non-identity between instances is analogically extended to a phoric classifier use that construes a similar relation of non-identity to identify a specific subtype of the general type.

(2) The second path has both **the internal and the external comparison pattern of identity** as its locus. It is a process of secondary grammaticalization whose input is an existing grammatical use as emphasizer of definite determiners as performed by adjectives of identity *same* and *identical*. This emphasizer use further grammaticalizes into a postdeterminer use expressing phoric and non-phoric referential identity: that the same instance may be associated with different instantiations in the discourse (phoric) or with different contextually invoked circumstances (non-phoric). I argued that two further subtypes could be distinguished depending on the type of instances denoted by the NP. On the one hand, they can be concrete spatio-temporal instances. But, on the other hand, the postdeterminer of identity can also perform an abstraction process drawing a generalized instance from a concrete instantiation. As with the first grammaticalization path, the phoric relation of identity is extended to a phoric classifier use that either derives the same subtype from a different general type or signals that the same subtype covers different more specific subtypes itself.

(3) The third grammaticalization path is restricted to adjectives of difference that compare different entities denoted by the same NP, i.e. **the internal comparison pattern of difference**. Here the lexical attribute meaning of unlikeness forms the basis for the development of a postdeterminer use that is a type of nominal aspect marker (Rijkhoff 2002), which individualizes the plural instantial set. This path incorporates a second grammaticalization process from individualizing postdeterminer in plural NPs to a quantifier use measuring the magnitude of the instantial set. Its specific quantitative value is 'unspecified number of instances that can be simultaneously perceived as individuals'. Of the two adjectives of difference included in the central synchronic corpus study, only *different* has developed along this path of grammaticalization. Therefore, I extended the description to other adjectives of difference that occur in NPs with internal comparison: *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various*. The comparison of synchronic data for these adjectives revealed that the quantifier use is especially common with *several* and to a lesser extent *various*, while the individualizing postdeterminer use is the more common one with *different* and *distinct*.

I also proposed that each of these paths has a fully grammaticalized exponent, which might have functioned as a model for the grammaticalization of other adjectives that fall within the pattern of that path. These are *another* for externally compared difference, *the same* for internal and external identity, and *several* for internal difference.

The study of adjectives of similarity formed an interesting cornerstone to the grammaticalization hypothesis. The attribute meanings of the adjectives of identity and difference, full likeness and unlikeness, naturally accord with the grammaticalized meanings of referential identity and non-identity. By contrast, the attribute uses of adjectives of similarity occupy the middle area of the descriptive likeness continuum, which, because identity and non-identity are complementaries, has no referential counterpart. The synchronic data revealed that, in their grammatical uses, the adjectives of similarity divide over the notions of identity and non-identity, which suggests that they have developed along both the first and the second path described above.

Theoretically, this empirical data analysis brought to the fore the pervasive role of one particular principle that has been associated with grammaticalization perceived from a synchronic angle, persistence (Hopper 1991). According to this principle, the original lexical meaning of the grammaticalizing element plays a determining role in its grammaticalized meanings and functions. I argued that persistence can be observed in the various grammatical meanings associated with the fields of comparison in general: the adjectives of difference develop meanings signalling referential non-identity, whereas those of identity come to express referential identity. But persistence becomes especially apparent when the grammatical semantics of the adjectives of similarity are inspected more closely. Even though their grammatical uses convey the same basic relations of identity and non-identity as the adjectives of identity and difference respectively, the idea of similarity influences their more specific semantic values. For example, *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* can express phoric non-identity similar to *(an)other/(a) different*, but whereas the latter emphasize the fact that not the same instance is denoted, *(a) similar* and *(a) comparable* draw attention to the shared type specification. As a result, they are preferred over adjectives of difference in examples with a more elaborate type description. Notwithstanding the fact that persistence was conceived of as a lexico-semantic principle, I suggested that it can also apply to certain structural features of the source element in its original lexical use, which turn out to determine its grammaticalized use. The persistence of structural features is especially clear in the development of the adjectives of

difference. Their grammatical uses were argued to divide over two paths leading towards two different referential functions on the basis of the external or internal construal of the original lexical relation of unlikeness. For the adjectives of identity, it is not external versus internal construal that determines their grammaticalized function, but the type of primary identification that the adjective combines with. When the grammaticalization source is the definite emphaser use, the resulting referential identity meaning can pertain to spatio-temporal as well as generalized instances. However, when the indefinite lexical attribute use constitutes the input of the hypothesized grammaticalization process, the ensuing grammaticalized postdeterminer always involves generalization of concrete instances.

In Part III, finally, I confronted the general grammaticalization and subjectification claim put forward in Part I as well as the specific paths of development suggested in Part II with diachronic data. I discussed the findings of two diachronic corpus studies (based on Breban 2006c and 2006a, 2008b), one involving the six core adjectives of comparison that were also included in the synchronic investigation in Part II, *other*, *different*, *same*, *identical*, *similar*, and *comparable*, (**Chapter 10**), and another one focusing on adjectives of difference involving internal comparison *different*, *distinct*, *divers(e)*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various* (**Chapter 11**). On the whole, the two studies lend support to the grammaticalization hypothesis: the historical data of several adjectives display shifts from a stage with lexical uses only to a stage with both lexical and grammatical uses (*comparable*, *distinct*, and *various*) or from a stage with the two types of uses to one with grammatical uses only (*other*, *several*, and *sundry*). Other adjectives such as *similar* manifest a clear increase of grammatical uses over the different historical stages. The data also confirmed the chronology of the proposed developments. The data for *identical* and *similar* showed that the phoric classifier use constitutes a later development than the corresponding postdeterminer use and those of *different*, *several*, *sundry*, and *various* lent support to the relative chronology of individualizing postdeterminer and quantifier use. With regard to the three proposed paths of grammaticalization, the historical data not only confirmed the paths themselves, but also backed up the claim that *another* and *the same* actually served as models for the development of the other adjectives. The situation with *several* and the third path leading to individualizing postdeterminer and quantifier uses proved to be more complex. Comparison of the historical developments of the different adjectives suggested that the relations between them and their distribution over the different lexical and grammatical uses are governed by the forces of renewal (Meillet 1915–1916; Hopper

and Traugott 2003 [1993]) and competition. The historical evolution of the field of difference was argued to have reached and maintained an equilibrium in which the adjectives are more or less in complementary distribution as a result of these two forces.

In addition to the verification of the grammaticalization and subjectification hypothesis, the historical data analysis also allowed me to put to the test another formal reflex of subjectification identified in the literature, leftward movement. As formulated by Adamson (2000), the leftward movement hypothesis stated that a gain in Traugottian attitudinal subjectification goes together with a change to a more left position in the English NP. However, in Chapter 2 I argued that this association is an ordering principle on a par with other principles such as head-modifier ordering. I suggested that leftward movement had a stronger structural basis for the development of determining elements. That is to say, when elements acquire new determining functions, they come to be part of the determiner zone, which is located at the left end of the English NP. The diachronic data discussed in especially Chapter 11 supported the leftward movement hypothesis for determining elements: adjectives that had grammaticalized completely also lost the ability to occupy their original more right position in the central attribution zone. The data for *several* and *sundry* showed a two-step move to the left: (1) when they performed the postdeterminer function they did not occur in the central position in the attribution zone, (2) when they became associated mainly with quantifier use, they lost their 'post'determiner position and are no longer attested preceded by any other element in the NP than the definite article.

In the previous paragraphs I have summarized the main descriptive findings of this study and pointed out its most important theoretical contributions to the modelling of the English NP and grammaticalization theory. All in all, I hope to have shown that the NP is rewarding new territory for research into grammaticalization and subjectification. With this study, I have made a first attempt at grasping the specifics of grammaticalization and subjectification in the English NP, by focusing on one case study, the development and ensuing polysemy of English adjectives of comparison. Because this study had few antecedents, there was no ready-made theoretical apparatus at hand in the literature. At several steps of my analysis, established concepts had to be modified or new concepts had to be proposed to do justice to the data. Even though, as I hope to have shown, these seemed adequate for the analysis of adjectives of comparison, their more general applicability will have to be investigated in future research. These general claims pertain to two topics.

Firstly, this study has provided a first in-depth study reconstructing the development of new determining elements in the NP. Using especially Langacker's (1990, 1998) views on subjectivity as a starting point, I set out the main lines of the processes involved. However, as I pointed out in Chapter 5, comparison with postdeterminer uses of other adjectives revealed that the advanced subjectivity of the postdeterminer and quantifier uses of the adjectives of comparison stands out (see Davidse, Breban and Van linden 2008). This feature was hypothesized to be due to the fact that they are concerned with notions that are intrinsic to the grounding of the NP such as identification/identifiability and quantification. I have argued that these special semantics have made it possible for them to fuse with their accompanying primary determiners into single grounding predications. Other postdeterminers expressing less central grounding notions are not expected to attain such advanced subjectivity, but instead to be perceived of as secondary determiners. Future studies of other adjectives displaying new determining uses will have to reveal the extent of the difference in subjectivity and evaluate the explanation put forward in this study.

Secondly, I have tried to show how a general grammaticalization analysis could be applied to the NP. The semantic superstructure of grammaticalization theory lent itself well to elucidating the proposed development of adjectives of comparison. But the existing approach to formal changes involved in grammaticalization posed more problems. As I hope to have proven in this study, these formal changes are very strongly connected with the specific syntagmatic construction that the grammaticalizing element is part of, which, in this case, is the English NP. Building on the idea that semantic-functional changes and changes in formal structures are two sides of the same coin, I suggested some modified or new formal processes to possibly be involved in grammaticalization such as structural persistence, leftward movement, and especially a change in combinatorics from dependency to scoping relations. Whether and how these formal changes are borne out by other instances of grammaticalization in the NP and maybe even in general remains to be assessed in future studies.

Corpora

CB: *COBUILD corpus*, distributed by HarperCollins Publishers via the Collins WordbanksOnline service.

HC: *Helsinki corpus of English texts. Diachronic part* (ICAME, version 2) 1999. Matti Rissanen & al. University of Helsinki: Department of English.

CLMET: *Corpus of Late Modern English texts*. Hendrik De Smet. K.U.Leuven: Department of Linguistics.

INL: *the 38 million words corpus of the Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie* ("the Institute for Dutch Lexicology"). Leiden: Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie.

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